

ANNALS OF IOWA



Iowa Historical Building, Des Moines

Published Quarterly at Des Moines by
**IOWA STATE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
AND ARCHIVES**

JULY, 1954

Established 1863
Title Copyrighted

Third Series
Vol. XXXII, No. 5

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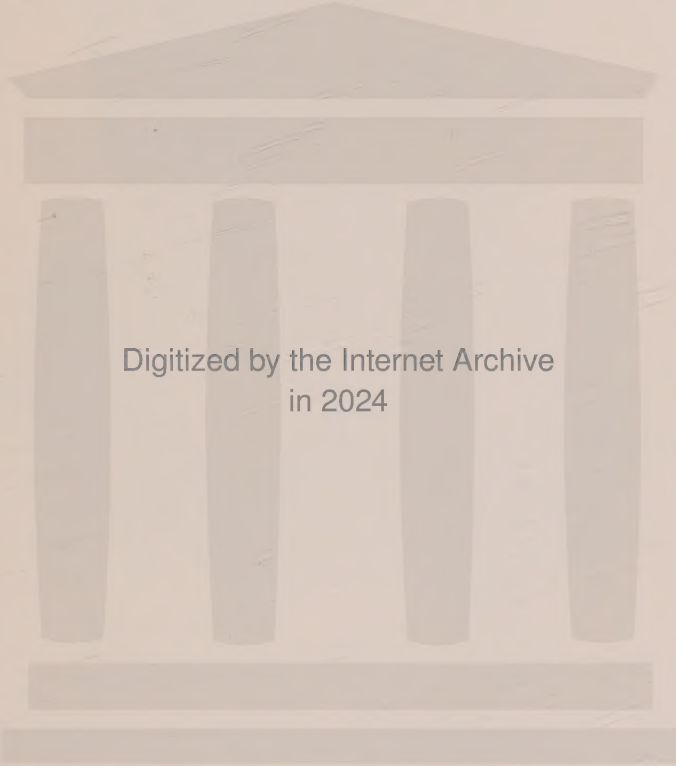
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THE ANNALS OF IOWA is issued in January, April, July and October at Des Moines. Subscription Price \$1.00 Per Year; Three Years, \$2.50 When Paid in Advance; To Address Outside U.S.A., \$1.25 Per Year; Single Copies, 25 cents.

Entered as second class matter July 8, 1920, at the post office at Des Moines, Iowa, under the Act of August 24, 1912.



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HERBERT M. ("HUB") HOXIE

1830-1886

From a wood cut picture of Mr. Hoxie that appeared in *Harper's Weekly*, Vol. 30, p. 213, on file in the Iowa State Traveling Library, Des Moines. No individual portrait of him could be located, although search was made, and extensive correspondence had with railroad authorities and associations. A thumb-nail print of him appeared in the *ANNALS* in a group of Iowa delegates to the Republican national convention at Chicago, which nominated Abraham Lincoln for president of the United States.

Annals of Iowa

ESTABLISHED 1863

VOL. XXXII, No. 5

DES MOINES, JULY, 1954

THIRD SERIES

Eminent Iowan Series

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HERBERT MELVILLE ("HUB") HOXIE

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By ORA WILLIAMS

History runs like a ribbon through the calendar of time; but biography and the narration of the story of the builders, is like broken reeds laid at random. The mechanics of progress seem not always to click. On the new frontiers the trail blazers travel alone. Each generation develops its own heroes. A century ago the line of pioneer progress ran across Iowa. Here were great deeds, great events, great men and women.

But you must go to the graveyard for reminders. Out in Woodland cemetery, in Des Moines, there is a fine granite shaft with this inscription:

Herbert M. Hoxie

Born in Palmyra, New York, Dec. 18, 1830

Died in New York City, Nov. 23, 1886

That is all. No record, no biography, no boast; the casual visitor passes by with perhaps a glance. But that is a marker for a famous man of Iowa and the scene of the most spectacular funeral ever held in the state. At the graveside stood about 200 persons who had come on special trains, one from Chicago and New York, the other from St. Louis. There had been a procession through the city with streets for long distance lined with old friends. In the report of that event, I then

wrote, and it was published in the *Iowa State Register*, that many about the grave were notable, and added:

Grey heads were plenteous, and the presence of so many noted men made a scene of dignity and pathos never seen except at the graves of heroes, rulers and the most famous men. Nearly all the cities of the West and Southwest had contributed from their noblest men, to the group, and it was a gathering such as is seldom seen in any community or about any grave.

In an extended editorial in the same newspaper, "Ret" Clarkson wrote of the event:

The large company of men who stood around Mr. Hoxie's grave represented the controlling powers of the business interests of the west; represented hundreds of millions of dollars of capital; represented the life of western trade. Such a group of men, such a lot of faces of strong men, seldom appear about any grave save that of presidents and men highest in power in government.

The special train from New York had been brought from Chicago by favor of the Rock Island management; that from St. Louis was a Missouri Pacific train, brought over the Wabash. It had been expected that Jay Gould would be among the visitors, but he was unable to come and he was represented by his brother. Mr. Hoxie was vice-president and general manager of the Missouri Pacific railroad. His oldest friend, Thomas Mitchell, was present.

If there was not abundance of evidence even more convincing, the above recited matters would serve to show that the modest shaft in the old cemetery in Des Moines marks the grave of a man of much more than common ability. Not far from it is the impressive mausoleum of Mr. Hoxie's old friend, "Ret" Clarkson, and the fast fading sandstone marker of General Crocker, one of Iowa's great soldiers.

This is really the end of a worthwhile story that commenced when a strong boy from New York swept the floor of the first store established in the town of Fort Des Moines. Much more of the story may well be told to the end that it ought to inspire future generations to notable achievements.

TRAINED BY THOMAS MITCHELL

Hoxie, Herbert M. Hoxie, or "Hub," in the vernacular of his day, a name completely unknown to the present generation of Iowans, remembered by only a few of the old timers, once a name to be conjured with in business and politics, calls for an addenda to the admirable article in the ANNALS OF IOWA for April, 1953, concerning Thomas Mitchell.

Much was written and has been printed about this most versatile Iowan of early days. It seems worth while to make a new attempt at gathering together the bits of scattered information that they may inspire others to follow his giant strides across the pages of Iowa history. Such an assembling of references will show quite well Mr. Hoxie's great versatility, his command of the friendship of many of the great, his zealous and prudent patriotism, his force and strong character. Such men come upon the history scene but seldom. He was a fine product of the times and the opportunities that lay before the Iowa builders a hundred years ago.

Hub Hoxie came with his father from Vermont and the father opened a store in Des Moines where the boy clerked for some time. After the death of the senior Hoxie, and the closing of the store, Hub went out to the country tavern of Tom Mitchell in the eastern part of Polk county. He is said by Will Porter, in his Polk county book, to have been a relative of Mitchell. This seems probable, since later on the Hoxie House, at Mitchellville, was operated by his brother, D. L. Hoxie. Porter was not always the best authority, but the writer recalls that Tom Mitchell often spoke of the two Hoxie brothers with affection.

The Mitchell tavern in the Apple Grove settlement was a good school for young Hoxie. Mr. Mitchell had established the tavern by special permit of Captain Allen, of the U.S. army stationed at Fort Des Moines, so that travelers might have a resting place not too far from the Raccoon fork. It was about half-way between Tool's Point and the fort. Even before arrangements were made to open the country west of the Red Rock

Office of Secretary of State,

Des Moines, _____ 1860

Abraham Lincoln

President of the United States

Sir,

Having learned that George W. Vanhorn, of Muscatine, Iowa, will be an applicant for the Consulship at Glasgow, I am undersigned Judges of the Supreme Court, and State officers of said State of Iowa, take pleasure in recommending him, as a man of strict integrity, pure morals, great application, good scholar with fine talents, is an influential and working Republican. His appointment is one eminently fit to be made and could not but give good satisfaction.

Very Respectfully

R. P. Lowe C. J.

C. Baldwin J.

Samuel S. Mitwood Sec

Elijah Sells Secy of State

J. W. Battell Auditor of State

Josh Jones Treasurer

Ho G. Wright J.

Thos. L. Withrow

Sup. Let. Reporter.

H. M. Hoyle Chairman Rep State Central Comtee

A Recommendation by Iowa State officials to President Abraham Lincoln for appointment of George W. Vanhorn, of Muscatine, Iowa, for the Consulship at Glasgow, Scotland, and approval of same by H. M. Hoxie, as Chairman of the Republican State Central Committee. Original filed in the Manuscript Division of the Iowa State Department of History & Archives.

line to white settlement, many travelers came up the ridge between the Des Moines and Skunk river valleys looking at the fine prairies and the woodland fringe. It will be recalled that Jean Faribault once bought beaver pelts from the Indians at the place where now is the capital of Iowa, and that Gen. John C. Fremont came this way once and wrote of the trees and flowers that adorned the river. So, also, there once trod the ground near the capitol, Major Albert Lea, and Col. Boone and Stephen Kearney. But the hotel register at Apple Grove had many other signatures of notables. The smiling greeter at the desk made friends of all who came. Most of the early settlers of this immediate region had stopped at one time or another with "Uncle Tommy" at his tavern, and Hub gathered wisdom from all.

AN "UNDERGROUND RAILWAY" STATION

It was quite natural that the "underground railroad," operated through Iowa in the later days of the anti-slavery rumpus, should attract the attention of most of the Yankees who had come to Iowa. The Apple Grove station became one of the easy stopping places for the trains. It had importance along with one at Grinnell, another at Tool's Point, and the homes of Isaac Brandt in Des Moines, and James Jordan a short distance west of Des Moines. Hub called the squads who usually traveled under cover in wagons properly arranged, shipments of "fleeces of wool."

His wide acquaintance soon led him into local politics and he was elected to be county clerk of the courts. Then he became chairman of the Republican county committee. Frank Herriott refers to the delegation that went from Iowa to the convention that gave first nomination to Abraham Lincoln and says: "The delegation contained at least three 'Black Republicans,' H. M. Hoxie of Des Moines, who had been an expert as to the best time and route for shipping 'fleeces of wool' and was then secretary of the Republican state central committee," and also M. L. McPherson and J. B. Grinnell.

These delegates, it may be recalled, with others composing a majority of the Iowa delegation did not vote for Lincoln. They had other choices. But President Lincoln appointed Hoxie to be United States marshal for Iowa, in which position he demonstrated his great ability as an administrator and greatly helped the cause of the government. He continued to hold that position through the war and he played important parts in that struggle.

To Hub Hoxie, as to the thousands of other Iowans, the news from South Carolina came as a great shock. It was no news that the Southern leaders were infuriated over their failure to extend slavery to the whole United States and all its territory, nor that there were in Iowa many whose sympathies were with the slave holders. But when boasts, bluster and threats were translated into the treasonable firing upon the American flag flying over an American fort and Fort Sumpter was surrendered to the cadets from the Citadel, that was different. The present writer has told elsewhere in the ANNALS OF IOWA, in connection with the return of the sword of Gen. Marcellus M. Crocker to the state's historical department, of the events at Des Moines. Lawyer Crocker was trying a case at Adel when the news came to the old court house and the court having adjourned immediately, Crocker rode his horse swiftly to the state capital and called a meeting of citizens to decide what to do about it. Johnson Brigham in his Iowa History continues the narrative:

CROCKER APPEALED FOR VOLUNTEERS

Mounting a chair, young Crocker at once commanded silence and attention. Those who came to the mass meeting in anticipation of rhetorical appeals to patriotism were disappointed; but those who came to hear the word that should give direction to their patriotic impulses went away satisfied that the hour had brought the man. "We have not called this meeting for speech-making," said Crocker. "We are now here for business. The American flag has been insulted, has been fired

upon by our own people, but by the eternal, it must be maintained."

The emphatic utterance was greeted with a storm of applause. When quiet was restored he continued:

"I want now, just now, to raise a company to join the First Regiment of Iowa. I want a hundred men to come right up here and give their names to Hub Hoxie, pledging themselves to go with me to Dixie."

So they did, and more than a hundred; and Hoxie took down their names and helped to fully organize a company that was immediately offered to Governor Kirkwood. That it did not get into the First Iowa was not the fault of either Crocker or Hoxie, but because other companies near to shipping points on the Mississippi river filled the quota.

As United States marshal Hoxie had a job on his hands. There were bands of Knights of the Golden Circle in Iowa, especially near the Missouri border. He had a part in smashing the incipient rioting in several places. But, generally, those who had protested against a war to settle the slavery problem, joined in the war to prevent dissolution of the union. He came to be on intimate terms with many of the prominent men of Iowa. He continued after the war to take a hand in politics. He exchanged letters with Gen. Grant, Gen. Crocker, and others. He was delegate to most of the conventions.

It should be recalled that following the close of the war, there was an unfortunate sharp division among those who had helped to crush secession. On the one hand there were those who desired to follow the advice of Lincoln to treat the rebels as "erring brothers" entitled to "return quietly to the fold." The returning soldiers who had witnessed brutality of Confederate prisons, or had lost an arm or leg in open battle, had other ideas. They would not be satisfied without dire punishment of the traitors, and they formed a radical element in the Republican party. They came to be called "radicals" and were proud of the name. This difference of opinion affected the politics of the congress-

ional district in which the state capital is located. In congress, from this capital district, there was John A. Kasson, one of the great Iowa statesmen, who had been pretty close to President Lincoln, as assistant postmaster general for a time. The radicals decided that Kasson was not sufficiently radical. They wanted a soldier to represent them. So they induced Gen. Granville M. Dodge to be a candidate, nominated and elected him. But General Dodge had no taste for politics at Washington, and the district sent Frank W. Palmer to congress for two terms. In 1872, Kasson again sought the office. He got it and held it for two terms.

The retirement of Mr. Kasson for a time from public life was not due wholly to his lack of radicalism. Frank M. Mills in a letter from Sioux Falls to Curator E. R. Harlan dated Oct. 20, 1920, referred to the matter. Mills had owned the daily *Iowa State Register* for several years, as had Frank W. Palmer, before the advent of the Clarkson Brothers as head of "the Regency" with headquarters under the famous "clock tower" at Fourth and Court avenue. Mr. Mills contributed this little item about the defeat of Kasson after his first two terms:

In the meantime there was a great change in his following. Those who fought his first nomination had become his very warm friends, while Mr. Palmer of the *Register* and Mr. Thomas Withrow and Hub Hoxie, who had been his principal backers, turned against him on account of the divorce suit of Mrs. Kasson, in which Mr. Withrow had been her attorney, and supported General Dodge.

But that's another story. Many years later, General Dodge gave a historical address at the camp fire of the Crocker brigade at Keokuk, in fact, on Sept. 27, 1900, where he read a letter from General Crocker, never before published, dated Des Moines June 24, 1864, in which General Crocker wrote freely of his retirement from the army because of ill health and said:

There is no news. Kasson will be renominated without a dissenting voice. Hub Hoxie sends his regards; he lets on to be very busy and I suppose he is. He says he has a kind of general supervision of affairs, civil and military, in the state, and has divers times threatened me with arrest, and since

I find his office a very convenient place to sponge stationery, envelopes, &c, I have not seen proper to dispute his authority.¹

General Crocker, the Des Moines attorney turned soldier, had been with General Grant at Vicksburg and was with the army headed for Atlanta when rumors came of his illness. Hub Hoxie received a letter from him. "I am not dead," he wrote, "persistent rumors to the contrary notwithstanding. I have no intention to give up the ghost without a struggle." But he was finished. He tendered his resignation, then withdrew it by request of General Grant and was sent to Arizona in the hope that he might recover strength. But he was buried in Woodland cemetery in August 1865.

The little sandstone marker that stands not far from the fine monument to Hub Hoxie, and back of the mausoleum of James S. Clarkson, bears the famous inscription: "He was fit to command an independent army,—U. S. Grant." Hoxie rests near his friends.

The later career of Hub Hoxie was largely outside the state and is not entirely clear. Frank Herriott, referring to Hoxie as one of the Iowa delegates to the Republican national convention of 1860, and his prominence for many years in Iowa affairs, wrote:

Mr. Herbert M. Hoxie became United States marshal for Iowa under President Lincoln and won great applause for the vigor of his administration. Following the war he entered upon an increasingly successful career in the construction of railroads and in railway administration, being at his death, in 1886, the virtual head of the Gould system of roads in the southwest and classed among the foremost railway managers in the country.

This estimate was in part quoted from *Harper's Weekly*. The Gould system had as its main stem the Missouri Pacific railroad. Quite likely Mr. Hoxie learned a great deal about railroads from his friends in Iowa. General Dodge was a great railroad builder. Peter A. Dey was engineer for construction of the Union Pacific. There were many others of Iowa who helped in the building and operation of railroads. To no one was ever paid the high compliment that came to Herbert M. Hoxie.

¹ANNALS OF IOWA, Vol. IV, p. 590.

The era of railroad building ended long ago. It was in that era that Iowa life took on the forms that will endure through the ages. Nor was the era so very far in the past. The writer well remembers being present at the forks of the Raccoon river, 20 miles west of Des Moines, when the first "Iron horse," as we called the early locomotives, proceeded past the Des Moines river valley, and gave the signal for a barbecue and rejoicing. The whistle gave forth a sound as strange to the ox-team drivers as the modern Diesel's moan seems to the drivers at the auto wheels.

Times do change, even in one generation. All honor to "Hub" and his friends.

Kasson and Hoxie Leadership

Supplementing his comment upon Dodge, Palmer, Kasson and Hoxie, in a letter to Edgar R. Harlan, referred to by Ora Williams, on page 328, Frank M. Mills wrote another letter to Mr. Harlan in which he touched upon the activities of the same parties. It was dated January 27, 1921, evidently in reply to a query from Harlan, and included the following:

I can add but little in regard to Mr. Kasson which is not covered by his autobiography published in the Annals, except what I wrote you last October. He was a good straight Republican, a first-class organizer. He and Hub Hoxie gave the trend to Iowa politics which it retained until of late years . . .

Mr. Kasson was courtly and would be conspicuous in the highest circles. It is understood that he was a great favorite in the courts abroad where he represented the United States. Except during the sessions of the Iowa legislature in which he represented Polk county for the purpose of securing appropriations for the capitol building, he was either at Washington or abroad in diplomatic service . . .

I am free to say that I think him the greatest character that Iowa has produced . . . I am glad that history of his life and services is to be published.

Pioneer Became Railway Magnate

By L. F. ANDREWS

One of the most active and prominent men in the early days of Polk county and the state was Herbert M. Hoxie, or "Hub," as he was familiarly called by everybody. His father, Benjamin T. Hoxie, came from Vermont, at a very early day and settled at Fairfield, where he opened a tavern, and "Hub" was along. He attended a subscription school, there being no public schools in those days, and also worked as clerk in a store.

When the garrison at Fort Des Moines was abandoned in 1846, and the place opened to settlers, his father came with a stock of dry goods and opened a store in what had been the sutler's storehouse, and there "Hub" assisted as a clerk. He was very quiet and reserved in habit, did not fraternize much with other young fellows at the fort, Guy Ayers being his most chummy friend, and Guy recalls many times when, together, they gathered wild strawberries on the plateau up west of Eighth street, now occupied by the First Methodist church and educational building.

Mr. Hoxie continued in business about three years. In 1847, he built a large house of huge logs, which stood askew to the streets at Twelfth and Walnut for many years until torn down in 1876. The logs for this house were cut on the bluff north of High street, and when completed, the house was considered the finest one in the county. He became a very prominent and most useful man in the formative period of Fort Des Moines following the discontinuance of the army fort. He was one of the eight who organized the first Methodist class, which was the nucleus of the First Methodist church. Meeting with business reverses, he closed out his affairs and returned to Jefferson county, and soon after, died.

"Hub" remained, and went to live with "Uncle Tom-

my" Mitchell, the god-father of Polk county. He was wide awake, energetic and manifested such capabilities for business, that "Uncle Tommy," who was extensively in business, put him in charge as manager. That he succeeded is verified by one of the very few references made to himself, in later years, when he said:

I acted as manager for him, his interests being large for those days, and it was my duty to ride over the place and see that the work was done. The only rebuke I ever received from him, a mild one, was for dismounting from my horse and doing some work myself, which I thought was not being done properly. While doing it, he rode up and I could readily see he was displeased, though he said nothing. We rode away, and when out of sight and hearing of the men, he said, "I do not expect you to do the work. It is your duty to see that it is done; that's all."

He lived with "Uncle Tommy" many years, saved his money, traded some, and regularly made remittances to his mother, who was somewhat dependent. As he reached manhood, he took an active part in politics, and as the protege of "Uncle Tommy" became well-known and popular.

ONE OF FIRST REPUBLICANS ELECTED

In 1856, when the Republican party was organized, an effort was made to secure some of the county offices, the Democrats up to that time having had control of the political affairs both in the county and state. "Hub" was nominated by the Republicans for clerk of the district court and elected. W. W. Williamson was elected judge of the court and got his commission, but the Democrats contested it and C. J. McFarland, the most notable, if not notorious, person who ever occupied the bench in this or any other state, was seated. The following year came the capitol location contest between the east and west sides of the river, which was the most exciting and bitter fight ever had in the county. Partisan politics was abjured, and "Hub," inspired by love for his old log house and parental home, gave the westsiders his most strenuous efforts and also subscribed \$1,000 to the fund to secure the location on the west side.

At the next election, in 1858, "Hub" was reelected, and the Republicans carried the entire county ticket, and since then the Democrats have succeeded in electing but four candidates, and then on purely local issues: Daniel M. Bringolf, for sheriff, in 1871, reelected in 1873; William Lowry, treasurer, in 1873, purely on the ground of personal popularity; George H. Gardner, recorder, in 1887, and C. C. Loomis, sheriff, in 1889.

MANAGED UNDERGROUND RAILROAD

In 1857, during the Kansas Free Soil excitement, Hub was one of the managers of the "Underground Railroad" for the transportation of negroes from Missouri to Kansas, and was declared to be an expert as to the best time and route for shipping "fleeces of wool" as he put it.

In 1860, "Hub" was elected secretary of the Republican state central committee, and the same year one of the delegates to the Republican convention at Chicago, which nominated Lincoln for President. He voted with the majority of the committee, five delegates voting from first to last for William H. Seward.

In 1861, he was appointed United States marshal for the district of Iowa. The whole state was in a turbulent condition. The Democrat party, radically opposed to the war, was doing all it could in that direction. Its newspapers were denouncing the president in vigorous terms and urging resistance to enlistments in the army. At the state convention, July 24, 1861, the following resolution was adopted by the Democrats:

Resolved, that our Union was formed for peace and cannot be perpetuated by force of arms, and that a Republican government held together by the sword becomes a military despotism.

As the exigencies of the war increased, and the Union army was suffering from severe losses, the opposition became more vehement and vituperative. Especially was this so with Dennis A. Mahoney, editor of the *Dubuque Herald*, the leading Democrat paper of the state. So bitter and personal became his diatribes

against the administration Hoxie was ordered to arrest him, which he did at his home, August 14, and took him to Washington, where he was confined in the old capitol prison for several months.

Henry Clay Dean was the real leader and the most influential promoter of the war opposition. He was a very talented man and fine speaker. He traveled up and down the state organizing societies to discourage and resist enlistments, denouncing the war as an abolition crusade, carried on by the worst and most unscrupulous men in the country for mere mercenary purposes. He also was arrested when on his way to Keosauqua to make a speech, and confined several weeks.

FIGHT WITH THE "GOLDEN CIRCLE"

So insidious and powerful was the influence of Dean and his followers, it did seriously affect enlistments for recruiting the depleted regiments in the field, and there was a prospect that a forced draft would be necessary, whereupon a mass meeting was held in Davis county, at which resolutions were adopted, pledging themselves to resist to the death all attempts to draft citizens into the army; that they would resist the coming of free negroes into Iowa—first by lawful means—that failing, will drive them with those who bring them, out of the state, or give them honorable graves.

One of the organizations resulting from Dean's crusade was known as Knights of the Golden Circle, or Sons of Liberty. It was a secret compact, having a grip and password. It was numerically strong, having in Iowa at one time thirty thousand members. It was blatant and vexatious to the government. It also was ready to take up arms at any time opportunity offered. It had a large membership in Polk county, and Hoxie was kept constantly on the alert.

In June, 1864, the Democrat state convention was held in Des Moines. Reports had reached government officials that Knights of the Golden Circle were going to take advantage of the occasion and the crowd

present to make a raid on the old state house, seize guns and ammunition stored in the basement, wreck the *Daily Register* office, and release three men who had been drafted and placed under guard in the county jail. Hoxie, satisfied after a reconnaissance of the crowd, that there was foundation for the rumor, quietly selected one hundred athletic, able-bodied members of the Union League, armed and equipped them for whatever might happen, and placed them on guard at the state house, *Register* office and other places, with instructions that if they had occasion to shoot, to shoot to kill. Occasionally, I meet some of the members of that guard nowadays. The leaders of the state convention, aware of Hoxie's movement, and knowing how he was built, counseled against any outbreak, for, "if you attempt it," said one of them, "you had better first make arrangements for your funeral."

As somewhat indicating the situation then, General Crocker, who was at home on a furlough, writing to General Dodge in the field said, "Hub Hoxie lets on to be very busy, and I suppose he is. He says he has a kind of general supervision of affairs civil and military in the state."

WORKED WITH GENERAL DODGE

At the close of the war, Hoxie joined General Dodge in building the Union Pacific railroad, and they became firm, fast friends. During his connection with that big enterprise, he developed a remarkable ability for railroad construction. When the International & Great Western railroad was started, he was made general manager. Later he was elected first vice-president of the Missouri Pacific during its construction. Then he went south and gridironed Arkansas, Texas, and Missouri with railroads until he controlled more miles of railway than any man in the United States, and at the same time was a man of great influence, and a potential factor in the civic affairs in that section, which was infested with the land grabbers and desperadoes of all sorts. He possessed great executive ability, and the knife and revolver retired from within

ten miles of all his land grant roads, leaving an unobstructed opening to the farmer and the home builder.

The severe labor and exposure, day and night, to properly protect the vast property under his charge from the raids of organized vandalism and ruffianism, was even more than his robust, rugged health could withstand. He contracted a disease which terminated in his death in 1886. His body was brought to Des Moines and laid in Woodland cemetery attended by one of the most notable funerals ever held in the city, prominent citizens and railway men from all parts of the country being present.

ESTEEM FROM BOONE COUNTY OLD SETTLERS

On that occasion the Old Settlers Association of Boone county being in session, expressed their high esteem for the deceased, which also was that of the host of people who knew the patriotic, public-spirited, noble, generous-hearted man, brave as a lion, yet gentle as a child, in the following words:

The pioneers of Boone county send condolence to the family and friends of the lamented dead "Hub" Hoxie, which they cannot express in words. We all knew him, as you did, noble, magnanimous, robust, honest, whole-souled, warm-hearted man. We have partaken of the hospitality of the old Mitchell homestead when "Hub" was chief there, and we have had his volunteer aid with ox teams in getting out of the interminable sloughs and deep snow drifts of the prairie waste, miles away from that ever welcome shelter and home for all who came, whether they had money or not. We also knew him in public life, and have watched his career since manhood, and have been proud of his achievements. Bury him tenderly beside his dead boy, with whom the father's heart was buried in the by-gone days. He was an enduring monument in the hearts of all the survivors of pioneer times. Peace and rest to his ashes.

A column of panegyric would add nothing to the truthful sentiment expressed by the pioneers of Boone county. It was that of everyone who knew him, or of him. Though his vast railroad operations took him entirely away from early Iowa friends and associations, he never forgot them; he was ever loyal to Iowa and to Des Moines; it was his home to the end of his life.

Attempt to Hang an Iowa Judge

By FRANK D. DiLEVA

"FARM HOLIDAY" CULMINATES IN "NEW DEAL"*

The news of the Farm Holiday was pushed from the pages of the newspapers by the presidential campaign of 1932. The interest fostered by the campaign did much to cause the Holiday and the problems of the farmer to slip into a state of suspended animation. The Midwest was considered to be a controlling factor in the forthcoming election. Both the presidential incumbent and the aspirant spoke in Iowa. As the resounding campaign made its swing around the country, the farmers turned their efforts from the halting of trucks to the preventing of farm foreclosures. President Hoover at the height of the campaign asked the Reconstruction Finance Corporation [which was created during his administration] to investigate the problems of farm mortgages.¹ He declared that there would be no mortgage moratorium, but he felt that some action should be attempted. . . .² but the investigations into the farmers' problems never progressed beyond the investigation stage.

The campaign was bitterly fought in the Midwest and its vote, and presumably that of the farmer, proved to be an important factor in the election of the Democrat administration. It was the first time in many years that the Midwest had voted against the Repub-

*The Iowa farmers' revolt entered partisan politics in 1932, with demands for relief from summary foreclosures of farm mortgages, more stable prices for farm products and discontinuance of issuance of tax free government securities. The turbulent events depicted by Mr. DiLeva in this last chapter of his master's thesis ends with a recital of violences committed by Iowa farmers. The conclusions and judgments of the author largely have been omitted, and the purely historical recital of movements by citizens as individuals and in groups retained, the object being to portray events participated in by our Iowa people under stress and strain rather than comment upon motives and disagreements.—Editor.

¹ *Des Moines Register*, October 1, 1932, p. 1.

² *Ibid.*

lican party. The vote was probably not so much a vote of confidence in the new administration as a vote of protest against the former regime. The party in power now inherited the task of holding the support of the farmers.

As the farmer waited for the inauguration of March 4, 1933, he became determined that the winter months would not find people being evicted from their homes. As early as July of the previous year, Hardin county, Iowa, had formed an organization known as the United Farmers, boasting twenty-five hundred members and designed for the purpose of forcibly halting farm foreclosures.³

The attempts to prevent foreclosures brought about a unique practice known as "penny sales." This action if carried out on a statewide basis, would have been an effective way to circumvent foreclosure action. The process usually involved a group of sympathetic farmers who bid on a piece of property at a ridiculously low figure. By threat, cajolery or force of violence they also prevented outsiders from bidding on the property. A group of farmers bought fifteen hundred dollars worth of chattel for the sum of eleven dollars at Holstein.⁴ A similar sale, nearby, was cancelled due to the gathering of one thousand farmers. Another thousand Iowa farmers won a postponement of a sale at Bedford in Taylor county.⁵

SHERIFF SEIZED BY ANGRY FARMERS

A group of farmers near LeMars prevented the sheriff from serving an eviction notice at the farm of Ed Durband. The crowd threatened to "shoot it out" with the sheriff. The farmers took the shells from the sheriff's guns, searched his briefcase, and placed water in his auto gas tank.⁶

One of the most damaging instances of violence came in the early weeks of 1933. One man was killed and several others wounded in a gun battle just outside

³ *Des Moines Register*, July 18, 1932, p. 1.

⁴ *Des Moines Sunday Register*, January 15, 1933, p. 4.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Des Moines Register*, April 19, 1933, p. 1.

Sioux City. A man named R. D. Markell, age 67, was killed on the third day of February, while attempting to run a blockade into the city. The man accused of the shooting was named Nile Cochrane. Five persons were wounded in the shooting spree and at least fifty shots were exchanged. Markell's two sons were wounded as were Cochrane and one other picket. The case against Cochrane was eventually dropped due to insufficient evidence.⁷

The attempts to halt foreclosures continued at Harlan in Shelby county. County Attorney Jake More was held captive all afternoon by a group of farmers. More had gone to the farm of Thomas McCarthy to serve an eviction notice for the Prudential Insurance Company, which had received the farm through mortgage foreclosure proceedings. The farmers held More until he agreed to rent the land to the family being evicted.⁸

Sheriff Ed Leemkuil of O'Brien county had to be protected from a group of farmers while attempting to sell the John Shaffer farm on a court judgment. The deputies were forced to wield clubs to prevent the farmers from gaining access to the third floor of the Primghar courthouse. The fight raged through the first and second floors and at least ten persons were wounded. As an aftermath to the action, O. H. Montzheimer, attorney for the mortgage holder, was seized and made to kiss the American flag.⁹ The rioting and intimidation spread to Coon Rapids, where a farm implement dealer was threatened with bodily harm for having repossessed a tractor under provisions of a contract. He escaped the angry mob by running through the back door of his establishment and jumping into his automobile.¹⁰

SOUGHT TO HANG DISTRICT JUDGE

As the rioting due to mortgage foreclosures and tax sales continued, they assumed the properties of a snowball. Each action became more serious than the pre-

⁷ *Des Moines Register*, February 4, 1933, p. 1.

⁸ *Des Moines Register*, March 25, 1933, p. 1.

⁹ *Des Moines Register*, April 4, 1933, p. 12.

¹⁰ *Des Moines Register*, April 28, 1933, p. 1.

vious, until the eventual result was the Denison riot and the attempted hanging of Judge C. C. Bradley at LeMars. The Denison riot took place at the farm of J. F. Shields, three and one-half miles west of Denison. A foreclosure sale was in progress; two cribs of corn were sold, one at 20 cents a bushel and the other at 22.5 a bushel. A third crib was being sold when cars and trucks filled with farmers drove up. The men swarmed from the machines and deputies ran to meet them. The attackers formed a flying wedge and bore down on the officers; the officers were thrown to the ground, kicked, and jumped upon, as sticks, fists and bricks flew. Three officers were severely beaten and at least a dozen farmers met the same fate. This wanton attack on the deputies by at least eight hundred men caused the calling of the national guard. It required the combined efforts of the deputies and militiamen to prevent the as yet unsatiated crowd from storming the courthouse. The narrowness of the stairway which the attackers attempted to climb was the cause of the failure.¹¹ Though Governor Turner previously had said the guard would not be called, he had little choice at this time. This action seemed like open rebellion.

The second of the more serious incidents, was the attempted hanging of Judge C. C. Bradley at LeMars. The two actions were almost simultaneous in the execution. The group which participated in the Bradley affair was made up of those persons who had earlier attempted to halt the eviction of Ed Durband at Primghar. The group had gone to the home of the administrators of the Zink estate, which owned the Durband farm and failing to achieve satisfaction, marched on the LeMars courthouse. The farmers entered the courtroom wearing hats and smoking. Judge Bradley asked the men to take off their hats and to stop smoking. He was immediately seized amid cries of "This is our courtroom not yours."¹² Bradley was ordered to promise not to foreclose, or sign any more foreclosure proceed-

¹¹ *Des Moines Register*, April 29, 1933, p. 1.

¹² *Des Moines Register*, April 28, 1933, p. 1.

ings. He refused and was slapped. He was ordered again and following his second refusal, again was slapped. The men then took him to a crossroads out of town and placed a rope around his neck. A telephone pole was used as the "hanging tree" and he was lifted from the ground by the taut rope. At this point, the farmers became involved in an argument concerning the relative merits of hanging as opposed to being dragged behind an automobile. They settled the incident by taking off the Judge's pants, filling them with grease and dirt and then leaving the scene.¹³ Bradley eventually received a ride into town and returned to his home. His neck was burned from the rope and his lips were bloody and battered.¹⁴ The National Guard arrived in LeMars the next day.

The guard was sent to Crawford county because of the Denison riot and to Plymouth and O'Brien counties because of the Bradley affair. O'Brien county received the guard because of the Primghar courthouse attack which preceded the Bradley incident.

In Denison, Lt. Col. Folsom Everest read the governor's proclamation of martial law as a crowd milled in the courthouse area.¹⁵ The farmers watched the patrols take positions on the streets of town without jeers or catcalls, without any of the playful spirit which earlier had been shown in the "Cow War" at Tipton.

Andrew Ball, Crawford County Attorney, said that he believed that the majority of rioters were Farm Holiday sympathizers.

The major portion of the farmers at the fight today were from Shelby, Monona, Woodbury, Harrison and Ida counties, and some from Crawford.

The farmers were holiday sympathizers, organized to stop foreclosure sales all over this part of the country. If there has been any activity by Communist agitators in this part of the state, I have not heard of it.¹⁶

The National Guard was the only solution to the LeMars action and the guardsmen patrolled the streets

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Des Moines Register*, April 29, 1933, p. 1.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

of town with the express purpose of preventing a recurrence of like incidents. The guard units involved were: Headquarters Company of Neola, Company M of Red Oak, and Company E of Shenandoah.¹⁷ The authorities of the Guard group claimed to be in possession of a list of ringleaders who led the Bradley assault.¹⁸ It was expected that the arrest of these men would effectively halt all future farm disturbances.

Two hundred and sixty-three guardsmen were sent to the LeMars area. Immediately upon their arrival they set about making arrests.¹⁹ The arrests were not limited to Plymouth county, but spread to Crawford and O'Brien counties. The O'Brien county affair and the Denison Riot were enough to have forced the calling of the guard, and coupled with the Bradley assault, there was definite evidence that the civilian authorities were no longer able to maintain order. The lack of order was laid at the feet of the Communists, but not everyone considered the riots to be Communist inspired.

COMMUNIST INSPIRED LEADERSHIP CHARGED

The ugly cry of Communists again raised its head as Park A. Findley, head of the State Bureau of Investigation, declared that Sioux City was a hot-bed of Communistic activity and:

Communistic propagandists have been making the best of their opportunity in a section made fertile for discontent by drought, grasshopper invasions and depression.

Many of the farmers are not aware of Red backing in their troubles, but it is there nevertheless. There is very little spontaneity in the uprisings in western Iowa.²⁰

George V. Pew, President of the LeMars Chamber of Commerce and J. C. Gillespie, editor of the *LeMars Sentinel*, claimed that the farmers who came into the courtroom were orderly and the action was spontaneous.²¹ Regardless of their testimony, the military issued a statement which claimed that a number of the

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *LeMars Semi-Weekly Sentinel*, May 2, 1933, p. 1.

²¹ *Des Moines Tribune*, April 29, 1933, p. 1.

men involved in the Bradley attack were not farmers. One of the military officers declared that definite evidence had been obtained revealing that professional agitators had been in the vicinity several days before the action took place. They had not been able to establish whether those men had taken part in the uprising.²²

Milo Reno soon commented on the uprisings. Reno said:

It is deplorable, in fact revolutionary, when people who are law abiding, conservative citizens ignore the courts and violate the law even to the extent of mobbing judges; however, it has occurred a great many times in the world's history. When laws and courts fail to establish and maintain equity and justice, they will be overthrown, ignored and abolished.

The farmers of that community have been God-fearing, law-abiding members of society up until the present. I take it, any acts of violence and law violations that have been committed have been due to some intolerable wrong under which the people have been suffering.²³

Gov. Clyde L. Herring, who had been elected in November of 1932, expressed his opinion concerning the matter. He seemed to feel that the mal-treatment of Bradley was not farmer-inspired.²⁴

A four-man commission was established by the state to investigate and gather evidence concerning the violence. The members of the commission were: Captain C. G. Harris, of Jefferson, Captain Fred G. Clark of Waterloo, Major L. D. Mallonee of Audubon, and Judge Advocate Frank B. Hallagan of Des Moines.²⁵ All the men were members of the National Guard and were also attorneys by profession. The commission had as its duties the collecting of evidence, the investigation of the violence and the trial of the men involved. The commission was to exist so long as martial law remained in effect in the counties.²⁶

GEN. TINLEY'S OPINION OF CAUSES

Maj. Gen. Matthew D. Tinley, commanding officer

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *Des Moines Register*, April 29, 1933, p. 4.

²⁴ *Des Moines Sunday Register*, April 30, 1933, p. 1., Sec. 2.

²⁵ *Des Moines Tribune*, May 2, 1933, p. 1.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

of the National Guard, had this to say concerning the need for the troops:

I figure the citizens of Plymouth county are the same breed as the rest of us Iowans, mentally sick and depressed by conditions the times have placed on us. So we are here only to maintain the right and decency of the people of the community and the dignity of the state of Iowa . . . ²⁷

The state appointed Judge Frank B. Hallagan of Des Moines as assistant attorney general and gave him instructions to proceed to LeMars and make a thorough investigation of the farm disturbances. Chief Justice James W. Kindig of the Iowa supreme court issued an order transferring District Judge Earl Peters of Clarinda to Plymouth county for the purpose of replacing Judge Bradley. Assistant Attorney General Leon W. Powers was sent to LeMars to start criminal action against those men who abducted Judge Bradley.²⁸

The charge expected to be brought against the farmers who had participated in the actions was one of criminal syndicalism, provided sufficient evidence could be found to warrant such a charge. This charge is defined as the doctrine which advocates crime, sabotage, or other unlawful methods of terrorism as a means of accomplishing political reform and carries with it a maximum penalty of ten years in prison and a fine of five thousand dollars.²⁹

Governor Herring suspended all civil courts in Plymouth and Crawford counties immediately after reports of violence. They were to remain suspended until such time as the state attorney general would give an opinion concerning their relationship to military courts. The governor made it clear that the courts were to be closed for only a few days unless a proposed meeting with Major General Tinley showed that civil courts could not cope with the situation.³⁰

²⁷ *Des Moines Register*, May 1, 1933, p. 10.

²⁸ *Des Moines Register*, April 29, 1933, p. 4.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ *Des Moines Tribune*, May 1, 1933, p. 1.

MILITARY VS. CIVIL AUTHORITIES

State Attorney General O'Connor gave as his opinion that the governor could close the civil courts and that martial law might either displace or be adjunct to civil authorities.³¹ Though this gave the military the right to try the rioters, the state had not decided whether it would be by courts martial or by the civilian authorities.

The arrests brought about a legal problem which, though not affecting the outcome of the trials, for a time held out hope of escape to those men who had left the counties declared under martial law. County Attorney F. D. Smith of Cherokee county sent a message to Governor Herring, stating that troops should be kept out of Cherokee county. Smith said, "The civil authorities can handle Cherokee county. We want no troops here."³² Smith went on to explain, "I told the governor that if troops came in here they will be arrested by the civil authorities."³³

The problem posed by the county attorney's statement rests on the normal concept of civilian authority and its relation to military authority. Cherokee county was not under martial law. Only the three counties involved in the rioting, O'Brien county, Plymouth county, and Crawford county, were actually under martial law. The county attorney, therefore, felt that he was within his jurisdiction in issuing the ultimatum of arrest for the military. The troops ignored the threat and arrested two men shortly after Smith had made his statement.³⁴ The troops were not hindered or arrested. What then was the position of the county attorney? He was legally within his bounds in making the statement, but was unable to carry out the threat. It was physically impossible for deputy sheriffs to arrest armed troops. It was this point which effectively settled the problem. Trained troops, armed

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² *Des Moines Tribune*, May 2, 1933, p. 1.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ *Des Moines Register*, May 5, 1933, p. 16.

with modern weapons, were not bothered by minor infractions of the law.

Arrests continued; an attempt was made to enlist the aid of Clarence Darrow as defense attorney for the farmers. When approached concerning the case, Darrow said, "I do not imagine I could stand it. It looks like a case of several weeks to me and I could never stand up under such a lengthy trial."³⁵

Though unwilling to accept an active part in the case, the seventy-six-year-old Darrow did express the view that he would be willing to accept a small share in the case in an advisory capacity.³⁶

The total number of men arrested by May 6, 1933, was 155, all listed as farmers of the immediate locality.³⁷ Nineteen men had been released, leaving 136 men under arrest.³⁸ A breakdown of the numbers arrested by county follows:

Arrested in the LeMars area.....	92	
Released by troops.....	- 6	
	—	
Total held.....		86
Arrested in the Denison area.....	63	
Released by troops.....	-13	
	—	
Total held.....		50
Total number held.....		136 ³⁹

These men for the most part were charged with contempt of court, though the state was still undecided as to the procedure to be followed in trying them.

The arresting officers, led by Sheriff R. E. Rippey of LeMars, had to travel 110 miles to Tyndall, South Dakota, to apprehend one of the alleged ringleaders in the Bradley riot, one Martin Rosburg.⁴⁰ Rosburg was supposedly the man who pulled Bradley from the truck which carried him to the hanging ground. The men who were arrested were held in a barn, the National Guard maintained a machine gun alert around the

³⁵ *Des Moines Register*, May 3, 1933, p. 1.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ *Des Moines Register*, May 6, 1933, p. 1.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ *Des Moines Register*, May 11, 1933, p. 6A.

barn, and, as each man was brought to the temporary stockade, he was searched and forced to march through a line of guardsmen with fixed bayonets.⁴¹ The average age of the men arrested in the Denison area was 42.7 years;⁴² in the LeMars area, it was 42.4 years.⁴³

TYPE OF LAW VIOLATORS

What type of man participated in the riots? A. B. MacDonald, writing in the *Des Moines Register* of May 7, 1933, pictured a man sitting on the truck which was being used to carry prisoners to the guard house:

On the truck sat a typical Iowa farmer. He was head of a family. A few years ago he owned a farm. He mortgaged it to buy land. The crash came. He could see nothing ahead but foreclosures, eviction, homeless poverty. . . He joined the mob of other farmers who like himself, had lost all and were intimidating sheriffs and courts into putting off foreclosures. So here he was, a prisoner going shamefacedly to jail.

This man was like the others who were arrested. A man who had a family, who was approximately forty-two years of age and who had been a farmer most of his life. It was this type of man whom Attorney General O'Connor stated had been using racketeering methods.

Attorney General E. L. O'Connor charges that investigation into Plymouth county and Crawford county shows the use of racketeering methods, coercion and intimidation.

O'Connor claimed [that] early evidence by military inquiry showed 75% of the farmers enrolled in the holiday association were forced to join, or have their barns and haystacks burned.⁴⁴

O'Connor charged that investigation into the riots had made little headway previous to the entrance of the troops because everyone was afraid to talk.⁴⁵ He went on to say:

We have also discovered that a Communist center in Sioux City has been actively engaged in egging on the organization. Many engaged in the terrorism of the district are not

⁴¹ *Des Moines Tribune*, May 2, 1933, p. 1.

⁴² Listed in the *Denison Bulletin* of May 4, 1933.

⁴³ Listed in the *Des Moines Register* from May 2, 1933 to May 7, 1933.

⁴⁴ *Des Moines Tribune*, May 5, 1933, p. 1.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

themselves in financial difficulties. They were mostly the type that likes to make trouble.⁴⁶

As shown above, all men who took part in the riots were farmers. Since more than 50 per cent of all Iowa farmers were in debt and the debtor class was the only group which was in such desperate straits as to resort to violence, it may be assumed that the men engaged in the riots were of the debtor class. These men whom O'Connor accused of being "egged on" by Communists were not different from the majority of Iowa farmers. They were mature men, average, not hot-bloods.

As the arrests were being made and the evidence being gathered, the Farm Holiday Association set about to raise a defense fund for those men being held. Two prisoners, who were members of the organization, contacted James J. Blaine, former senator from Wisconsin, to act as counsel for the men held in Denison.⁴⁷ One of the men, Frank North, had previously applied for a writ of habeas corpus in the Federal district court in Des Moines and had the application rejected by Federal Judge Charles A. Dewey.⁴⁸ This seemed to substantiate the rumor that the men were to be tried by courts martial, since the writ of habeas corpus may only be suspended during time of emergency, but the actual reason for Dewey's refusal was more probably the theory that the Federal courts had no jurisdiction. Moreover, the rumor was promptly squelched with the announcement, on the ninth of May, that martial law would end two days later.⁴⁹ Troops immediately began to move from the area. Two companies, a rifle company and a machine gun company, were to remain in Denison.⁵⁰ The civil courts in Crawford were open at 9:00 a.m., the eleventh day of May, 1933. This would automatically end the term of martial law. The charges against all men were to be filed at that

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

⁴⁷ *Des Moines Sunday Register*, May 14, 1933, p. 7-L.

⁴⁸ *Des Moines Register*, May 8, 1933, p. 18.

⁴⁹ *Des Moines Tribune*, May 9, 1933, p. 13.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

time. When the courts opened, only one hundred guardsmen remained in the area; by the fifteenth of the month, only fifty remained and by the twentieth all the troops had departed.⁵¹

CIVIL COURT ACTION PROCEEDED

Judge Homer A. Fuller of Mount Ayr was appointed to preside over the Crawford county trials. Judge Earl Peters of Clarinda had previously been assigned to LeMars.⁵²

Jack Hemp of Granville, one of the men tried on contempt charges, admitted in his testimony to the following activities while a member of the Farm Holiday Association:

1. Picketing the roads in late August around Sioux City.
2. Picketing at Council Bluffs
3. Halting a foreclosure at LeMars
4. Unsuccessfully attempting to halt a foreclosure in O'Brien county
5. And unsuccessfully attempting to halt a foreclosure at Primghar.⁵³

This last event led to the calling of the National Guard.

Sheriff Leemkuil, in his testimony, stated that Morris Cope had threatened to take Judge Bradley from the bench while attempting to halt the sheriff's action at Primghar.⁵⁴ The Primghar affair was settled when most of the men pleaded guilty to contempt action and to resisting service of a court process. Five men were given suspended sentences of one year and the others were released with equally light sentences or small fines.⁵⁵

Only one man was actually tried on a charge of assault in connection with the Bradley incident. He was A. A. Mitchell, age 75, who was charged with assault with intent to do great bodily harm. He was sentenced to thirty days in jail.⁵⁶

Judge Fuller sentenced all the men in the Denison

⁵¹ *Des Moines Register*, May 11, 1933, p. 6A.

⁵² *Des Moines Tribune*, May 9, 1933, p. 1.

⁵³ *Des Moines Register*, June 8, 1933, p. 18.

⁵⁴ *Des Moines Register*, June 6, 1933, p. 13.

⁵⁵ *Des Moines Register*, June 24, 1933, p. 4.

⁵⁶ *Des Moines Register*, June 28, 1933, p. 16.

riot to a fifty dollar fine and one day in jail. They were tried for resisting an officer in his attempt to carry out a court order. All other charges were dismissed.⁵⁷ Fuller in meting out the punishment has this to say concerning the group before him, "I do not think a single man who has stood before me is a bad man or a bad citizen who should be confined as a felon."⁵⁸

RIOTING OCCASIONED EXPENSE TO STATE

So far as the law was concerned the two uprisings were past history, but payment was due and the price had been high. The calling of the guard to quell the three uprisings, "The Cow War," the Denison riot, and the LeMars riot, cost the state a total of \$202,000. Five hundred had been on duty at the peak of the latter two affairs and they had cost the state \$25,000, while the Tipton disturbance had cost \$177,000.⁵⁹

The Denison and LeMars outbursts came at a time when farm prices were at an extremely low ebb. These quotations were at an all-time low during January and February of 1933. The average decrease was 49 per cent under the base years of 1910-1914. Grain declined an average of 34 per cent, fruits and vegetables had declined an average of 59 per cent and dairy products had dropped 62 per cent.⁶⁰

These price figures were the instigating factors for another visit to the statehouse at Des Moines by Iowa farmers. Three thousand farmers visited the capital during a joint session of the legislature and leaders of the farmers expressed their view concerning what was needed in the way of aid. They put forth four points which they felt were immediate needs:

1. A full moratorium on mortgages
2. Revision of the tax laws, predicated on the ability to pay
3. Prohibition of tax free securities
4. The adoption of special agricultural legislation.⁶¹

⁵⁷ *Des Moines Register*, May 17, 1933, p. 1.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ *Des Moines Register*, May 20, 1933, p. 1.

⁶⁰ *Des Moines Register*, March 1, 1933, p. 14.

⁶¹ *Des Moines Register*, March 14, 1933, p. 1.

The above proposals followed a resolution, by four hundred members of the National Farm Holiday Association, to call a marketing strike if legislative justice was not forthcoming by May.⁶² The vote took place at a meeting in the Kirkwood hotel in Des Moines. Since little had been done toward ends asked during March and April, the organization voted to strike on May 13, 1933. All that was required to put it into effect was the action of the national board. The twelfth day of May, Milo Reno called off the strike. He remarked that the dairy could continue theirs, but the other farmers were to postpone their action pending the outcome of President Roosevelt's farm program. Roosevelt had stated that there would be more leniency on farm mortgages and that legislation would soon come to the aid of the farmer. Reno suggested giving Roosevelt a chance to prove his words.⁶³

IOWA ASSEMBLY ENACTED NEW LAWS

While in session, the 45th General Assembly of the State of Iowa passed four emergency relief acts which were designed to aid in the mortgage problem. They were:

1. H. F. 193, which made it possible for the mortgage holder and debtor to agree on a postponement of foreclosure.
2. H. F. 350, which stated that no sheriffs' deeds were to be issued until March 1, 1935, in foreclosures involving property in which the redemption periods had not expired; preference must also be given the previous owner as tenant.
3. S. F. 115, made foreclosure petitions unnecessary during this critical period.
4. S. F. 116, gave the debtor \$500 worth of property to be exempted from execution to satisfy the debt. The debtor may choose livestock, machinery, or farm products.⁶⁴

How much effect were those bills to have? The answer is found in the following quotation:

The 45th general assembly passed four emergency foreclosure relief acts designed to provide a program which

⁶² *Des Moines Register*, March 13, 1933, p. 1.

⁶³ *Des Moines Register*, May 12, 1933, p. 1A.

⁶⁴ *Des Moines Sunday Register*, April 30, 1933, p. 1., Sec. 6.

would enable owners of mortgaged real estate to keep possession of their home and at the same time preserve the rights of the holders of the mortgage.

Three of these acts deal with separate phases of the mortgage foreclosure problem as they relate to easing the strain of foreclosure during an emergency extended not beyond March 1, 1935. The fourth aims to give the owners of mortgaged property who decided that foreclosure is the best way out for them, sufficient property to resume farming operations under a new start.

None of these acts dealing primarily with maintaining mortgaged real estate in a virtual status quo pending recovery of prices, established either a moratorium on foreclosures or changed the existing one year period allowed for redemption of mortgaged property.

The legislature stopped short of enacting laws of either character. Its purpose was to adopt a program which would make it possible for holders of mortgages and owners to agree upon postponement of foreclosures.⁶⁵

The legislature had not passed the specific laws which the farmers had asked to be passed . . . The one year redemption period for property was considered too short; yet there had been no attempt to change it. It could then be expected that the Farm Holiday would continue.

THE FARM HOLIDAY DWINDLES

All was quiet during the summer months of 1933. The Farm Holiday Association waited while Roosevelt and his "brain trust" sought ways and means of alleviating the situation. As the summer waned and the price of farm products remained consistently low, the members of the Farm Holiday group assumed that aid was not forthcoming. Many farm groups felt that the New Deal had fallen short of providing the promised aid. They also believed that inflation was necessary for recovery.

Henry A. Wallace, secretary of agriculture, found himself criticized for not supporting an inflationary program. The Iowa farm board suggested that minimum prices be fixed for farm products.⁶⁶ Feeling ran

⁶⁵ *Des Moines Sunday Register*, April 30, 1933, p. 1., Sec. 6.

⁶⁶ J. S. Russell, *Des Moines Sunday Register*, September 3, 1933, p. 1., Sec. 6.

high for a method of compulsory control of production. Milo Reno maintained that Henry Wallace had changed his economics. Reno said that Wallace had preached inflation in his magazine, but did not follow his preaching.⁶⁷ Reno wanted Wallace to resign,⁶⁸ and continued his attack against Wallace's policy with the following statement:

If prices are not raised either by inflation or by some other means, he said, we are not going to sit idly by and let the men and women of the farms continue to lose their homes.⁶⁹

The attacks upon Wallace came from all sides. J. W. Kime declared that the citizens of Iowa should demand the removal of Wallace.

Unless farm prices are fixed at once, not only the farmer but the business man will be crushed, and Wallace fails to see this. Unless the farmer receives immediate consideration the entire Roosevelt administration will fail.⁷⁰

The same general thought was expressed by Glenn B. Miller, President of the Iowa Farmers' Union during its annual meeting. "Unless some remedy is advanced that will help agriculture before the next congress meets, the farmers will stay at home, sell nothing, pay nothing and will go on a farm strike that will overshadow anything that ever happened in this country."⁷¹ Miller went on to say that he had wired Roosevelt that only by giving cost of production to the farmer and changing our monetary system could revolution be averted.⁷²

The administration had not been totally inactive. Measures were in the planning stage and some were being slowly put into effect, but as in the case of the Hoover administration, the efforts through legislative aid did not reach the farmer soon enough to suit the farmer. Nevertheless, the federal government announced a number of agricultural assistance acts planned. They were:

⁶⁷ *Des Moines Register*, September 5, 1933, p. 2.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ *Des Moines Register*, September 11, 1933, p. 12.

⁷¹ *Des Moines Register*, September 21, 1933, p. 1.

⁷² *Ibid.*

1. The approval of the principle of fixed prices on hogs and provisions for control of production of both hogs and corn.
2. Some method of establishing controlled inflation.
3. Government financing of loans on farm holdings.
4. Increased effort to straighten out delay of refinancing farm mortgages.
5. Outright purchase of surplus foodstuffs for distribution to the needy.⁷³

Secretary of the Treasury Henry J. Morgenthau Jr., explained the action of the government in the field of mortgage refinancing, saying:

The Iowa campaign is ahead of schedule . . . In just a short time we have built up an appraiser force in Iowa from six men to a total of about eighty. Now with a growth like that it will be a month or two before we can have a full force of appraisers functioning smoothly. The money will start flowing into Iowa as a result of this campaign, but it will take probably two months before much is paid out.⁷⁴

This statement was used to explain the lack of action by the government in putting into circulation \$110,000,000 which earlier had been appropriated for the Federal Farm Credit Administration.⁷⁵ The money was to be used to refinance mortgages on farms in Iowa. At the same time, the government had also announced arrangements made to use \$35,715,000 to thaw frozen credits held by banks in Iowa.⁷⁶

FURTHER FARM STRIKE THREATENED

The members of the Farm Holiday adopted a resolution in September of 1933 which stated that, if the demands of the organization were not met, each state was to hold a strike. Their demands were as follows:

1. Cost of production price for farm produce.
2. A definite and specific pledge of enactment of the Frazier bill as soon as congress convenes. (Provides for refinancing of farm mortgages at 1½ per cent interest and 1½ per cent annual payments on principal.)
3. Immediate payment of a veterans adjusted compensation certificate by the issuance of new currency.

⁷³ *Des Moines Register*, September 24, 1933, p. 1.

⁷⁴ *Des Moines Register*, July 26, 1933, p. 1.

⁷⁵ *Des Moines Register*, June 12, 1933, p. 1.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

4. Immediate use by President Roosevelt of the inflationary powers granted to him by congress.⁷⁷

The Corn-Hog program of the federal government was announced on October 8, 1933, by Henry A. Wallace. Iowa was to receive \$75,000,000 if the state co-operated fully with the program.⁷⁸ The combined program was to give the farmer five dollars per hog on 75 per cent of his previous two year production average if he cut his litters and sales one-fourth.⁷⁹ A possible 30 cents per bushel of corn for the previous three year average yield was to be paid on the land taken out of production.⁸⁰ Twenty per cent of the acreage was expected to be taken out of production. This was not a formal announcement of actual workings of the program, but only a possible method. The actual program was to be worked out by the Department of Agriculture at a later date.

Milo Reno denounced the program as inhuman and idiotic:

In order to strike a balance between consumption and production, Wallace proposed, by diminishing production 25 per cent, to bring it down to meet present consumptions with twenty per cent of our people hungry. And were it possible for this program to be made effective, we would continue to have one fifth of our population continually facing hunger.⁸¹

Thus, despite the attempts of the Roosevelt administration to aid the farmer, a strike was scheduled to begin at noon on the twenty-first day of October, 1933. Reno declared that the strike would be a long drawn out battle and he urged the farmers to a supreme effort to obtain their rights without trouble. Reno said:

The present strike is a battle not only for the present relief of the farmer, but for the future. We must work to make all farmers realize this is a battle for their rights, the cost of production for their products.⁸²

John Chalmers, President of the Iowa Holiday Asso-

⁷⁷ *Des Moines Register*, September 23, 1933, p. 1.

⁷⁸ *Des Moines Register*, October 8, 1933, p. 1.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁸² *Des Moines Register*, October 21, 1933, p. 1.

ciation, agreed with Reno and stated his viewpoint: "We don't want the farmers to get out and picket the highways. We want them to continue husking their corn, protesting present prices by peacefully withholding their goods from market."⁸³

The first action of the strike came the very next day, at Sioux City. Two hundred farmers met at the courthouse and conferred with an attorney for the purpose of preventing a foreclosure proceeding. The foreclosure was postponed and the farmers then sent a telegram of protest to the Farm Credit Administration and Henry Morgenthau, Jr.⁸⁴

Though John Chalmers had said that the Farm Holiday Association did not want the farmers to picket the roads, by October 23 the roads into Sioux City and other cities were being blocked. Livestock trucks bound for Sioux City were being stopped and at James approximately one hundred men were in a group which placed flares and railroad ties on the highway.⁸⁵ Milk trucks were being allowed to pass the blockade, but other truckers were asked to return home.⁸⁶

At Avoca, only fourteen trucks passed through the town on the way to Omaha. The strikers had reached an agreement with four trucking companies. These companies promised to hold their grain until the strike was settled.⁸⁷ Milo Reno addressed a mass meeting at Avoca and discussed mortgages. He told the group: "As to the administration's refinancing of farm mortgages, only about six per cent of those who have applied have received benefits. There is not one farmer in fifty who can meet the government's requirements for a loan."⁸⁸

All roads leading into Council Bluffs were being picketed by October 25; about forty pickets stationed themselves at Crescent, which was six miles northwest of

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

⁸⁴ *Sioux City Journal*, October 21, 1933, p. 1.

⁸⁵ *Des Moines Register*, October 23, 1933, p. 1.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

the city.⁸⁹ In the Sioux City area, the picketing was centered around LeMars and the Prairie Creek road, but the produce market had as yet felt no ill effects from the picketing.⁹⁰

FARMERS WEARIED OF NIGHT PICKETING

A few days after the picketing began, many farmers complained of being tired working twenty-four hours a day, husking all day and picketing all night. The truckers soon realized that there would be little picketing done in the early morning hours and, therefore, timed their movements to reach Council Bluffs and Sioux City after the pickets had left the roads.⁹¹

As had been the case in the earlier farm disturbances, not all farmers joined in the picketing. Mills county formed an anti-strike group, which was designed to insure arrival of all farm produce at market.⁹² The sheriff of Mills county deputized twenty-six National Guardsmen as if they were private citizens, but they appeared on the highways with side arms and uniforms.⁹³ This immediately brought a protest from Adjutant General Charles Grahl. Such action was illegal and the men were forced to remove their uniforms and weapons.⁹⁴

An agreement to cease picketing the roads in the Council Bluffs area was signed late Friday evening, October 27. The agreement was with the Holiday group and the Southwest Truckers Association.⁹⁵

The temporary truce brought out a demand by the strikers for a complete embargo on all farm products and an indefinite suspension of all evictions and foreclosures. These items were to be presented to a conference of governors which was to meet early in November, in Washington, D.C.⁹⁶ The governors left for Washington on the first of November. The group was

⁸⁹ *Council Bluffs Nonpareil*, October 24, 1933, p. 1.

⁹⁰ *Sioux City Journal*, October 25, 1933, p. 1.

⁹¹ *Sioux City Journal*, October 26, 1933, p. 1.

⁹² *Des Moines Register*, October 26, 1933, p. 1.

⁹³ *Des Moines Tribune*, October 27, 1933, p. 1.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵ *Council Bluffs Nonpareil*, October 28, 1933, p. 1.

⁹⁶ *Des Moines Register*, October 30, 1933, p. 1.

composed of the governors of Iowa, Wisconsin, North Dakota and Minnesota. They were to present to President Roosevelt a recommendation for the adoption of an NRA code for agriculture. The governors wished a guarantee of the cost of production plus a profit and controlled currency inflation.⁹⁷ The farm plan proposed by the governors was rejected by the Department of Agriculture. The department declared that in view of the plans in operation the governors' plan was not feasible. Two days were spent in discussing the plan, but it was not adopted. The department said it had not rejected the plan, but simply had not assented to it. It did not wish to go on record of having turned the plan down.⁹⁸ The trip was not a total failure, for though the guaranty of cost of production had not been achieved, two concessions had been made:

1. A promised reorganization of the Omaha Land Bank, so that the administration of emergency farm credit would operate more smoothly.
2. A promised readjustment of the basis upon which the fifty cent loan on this year's corn crop would be made, so that farmers could get a loan from 8 to 10 cents higher than first expected.⁹⁹

The conference did not satisfy the farmers, and Milo Reno saw the corn loan plan as a bribe to quiet the farmer. He then declared the strike to be in full force and expected it to gain momentum.¹⁰⁰

VIOLENCE AGAIN REIGNED

The violence stepped up in tempo as the strike proceeded to go into effect. An attempt was made to burn a fifty-foot railroad bridge, thirty miles from Sioux City. The civil authorities attempted to determine if it had any connection with the strikers and many believed it did. Sioux City was receiving only 40 per cent of its normal milk supply and the burning of the railroad bridge may have been designed to prevent the use of the railroads in hauling milk and other pro-

⁹⁷ *Des Moines Register*, November 1, 1933, p. 1.

⁹⁸ *Des Moines Register*, November 4, 1933, p. 1.

⁹⁹ *Des Moines Register*, November 5, 1933, p. 1.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

duce.¹⁰¹ It was apparent at a later date that the attempt on the bridge could be laid at the door of the Farm Holiday adherents, for on November 6, a group stopped a train at Lawton and released eight cars of livestock.¹⁰² Ties were stacked on the tracks and as the train was halted, the engineer was told that the bridge would be dynamited if he did not do as told.¹⁰³ Lawton was only five miles from Sioux City. Two other attempts had been made to halt the same train. One at Pierson and the other at Moville. It finally stopped at Lawton because the crew feared a wreck if an attempt was made to crash the barrier. The engine and caboose of the train were allowed to proceed to Sioux City.¹⁰⁴

A main line bridge of the Illinois Central railroad just outside of Cleghorn in Cherokee county, was destroyed by fire the following day. The bridge was fifty-six feet long and twenty-two feet above the ground. Four railroad companies decided to mount guards on bridges to prevent any repetitions of the incident.¹⁰⁵

The burning of the railroad bridge and stopping of trains caused a delegation of Sioux City business men to meet with Governor Herring. They went to Des Moines to ask that the governor call out troops to prevent further violence, but Herring declined their plea since no formal request had been received from Sheriff Tice of Woodbury county.¹⁰⁶

Milo Reno answered those who criticized the action of his followers:

The people have been admonished to carry on by peaceful picketing in the strike. It would be perhaps impossible, however, to prevent action of this kind in the present frame of mind of the farmer.

It is easy to counsel respect for law and order by those who are not in dire distress. It's quite another matter, however, to the farmer who sees the earnings of a lifetime being

¹⁰¹ *Sioux City Journal*, November 5, 1933, p. 1.

¹⁰² *Des Moines Register*, November 6, 1933, p. 1.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁵ *Sioux City Journal*, November 7, 1933, p. 1.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

taken from him and his righteous requests ignored.¹⁰⁷

The reason for the increase in picketing could be found in the weather. Rain in the early days of November had made it too wet for corn picking, thereby leaving the farmers time to picket.¹⁰⁸

The picketing reduced the Sioux City milk supply to half.¹⁰⁹ Two men, Vern McFarland and Ward Libby of Odebolt, were beaten by pickets. They were pulled from their trucks and beaten while twenty-two of their hogs and a cow were turned loose. Sheriff Jo Perry of Pottawattamie county, immediately placed twenty men on the roads to forestall violence in the area.¹¹⁰

The pickets fired another bridge about one mile south of Portsmouth, in Shelby county, and Sheriff George Jensen said that evidence of kerosene and other combustibles showed that the firing was intentional. The bridge was completely demolished.¹¹¹ As this type of violence continued to harass the Sioux City area, a league known as the Law and Order League sent fifty names to Sheriff Rippey and announced themselves available for emergency service to keep the highways open.¹¹²

The violence also brought out another rash of name calling, which extended to the seat of government in Washington. Milo Reno immediately answered the attackers. Speaking of a statement made by Henry A. Wallace, he said:

I cannot call Henry Wallace secretary of agriculture. He is not secretary of agriculture. He is a sub of Wall Street. He is a disgrace to the office he is supposed to hold. He did not name me, but he meant me when he inferred leaders of the farm holiday are getting some money out of stirring up opposition against the corn-hog program. Henry Wallace is a damned liar. I challenge anyone to show that I have taken one thin dime from the holiday movements. The same is true for all national officers.¹¹³

¹⁰⁷ *Des Moines Register*, November 7, 1933, p. 1.

¹⁰⁸ *Des Moines Register*, November 3, 1933, p. 11.

¹⁰⁹ *Sioux City Journal*, November 4, 1933, p. 1.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹¹ *Des Moines Register*, November 9, 1933, p. 1.

¹¹² *Sioux City Journal*, November 8, 1933, p. 1.

¹¹³ *Des Moines Register*, November 13, 1933, p. 1.

CORN LOANS SILENCED RIOTERS

A truce was again declared on November 23. The members of the Holiday association wanted to give the governors of the Midwest an opportunity to present their program before the following session of congress.¹¹⁴

The Iowa Farm revolts ended two days later. No, it was not suddenly done, but the final chapter would soon be written. It was on November 24, that the first corn loan was received in Iowa. The federal government had liberalized the method for obtaining money through corn loans by providing that any bank could pay the loan money and then certifying it had done so to the Commodity Credit Corporation.¹¹⁵

The corn loans were received by using cribbed corn as the security in obtaining a loan. The federal government agreed to lend the farmer 45 cents for each bushel of corn which was put into a crib and sealed. The farmer was to repay the loan at a rate of 4 per cent interest, if he wished to repay it, but the best feature of the program was the fact that nowhere else could the farmer receive as much for his corn and if he defaulted on the loan, he lost only the cribbed corn, which then was unsalable. If the price of corn reached a point higher than 45 cents per bushel, the farmer could then sell the corn and repay the government loan while keeping the difference in profit.¹¹⁶ If the farmer borrowed money under the loan plan for forty-five bushels of corn, he would receive \$20.25. If he sold his corn at the price of the day, the same amount would gross him \$13.95. He made a profit and could lose nothing but his corn.¹¹⁷

It was the fact that money for a corn loan was actually received that warrants the statement that the end of the farm uprisings had arrived. The original loan was not of great size, but it heralded an unprece-

¹¹⁴ *Des Moines Tribune*, November 23, 1933, p. 2.

¹¹⁵ *Des Moines Register*, November 24, 1933, p. 10.

¹¹⁶ *Des Moines Register*, November 25, 1933, p. 1.

¹¹⁷ This is an example used by the author to explain the workings of the program and is not intended to illustrate an actual loan.

dented amount of money being poured into Iowa.¹¹⁸

As soon as news of the first loan was made public, the rush started. Money was available, money meant buying power and buying power was that thing which the farmer most lacked. The loans meant economic relief—a relief which could be received within twenty-four hours after receipt of the application blanks.¹¹⁹

The first man to receive a loan was W. W. Hral, who lived southeast of Pocahontas. He received \$585 on a crib containing twelve hundred bushels of corn. The flow of corn loans completely blocked the Farm Holiday. Seventeen thousand five hundred and seventy-three dollars were paid out in loans by the first of December.¹²⁰ By the fourth of the month an individual loan of \$135,000 was paid in Sac county. This brought the total amount of loans to \$241,882.93.¹²¹

FARMERS' MENTAL ATTITUDE ALTERED

The very fact that it was possible to obtain money may have had much to do in the change of mental attitude of the farmers and the state at large. The Iowa legislature enacted a foreclosure moratorium bill almost immediately after the loans became available. It was designed to delay foreclosures until March 1, 1935,¹²² and passed the house by a vote of 86-0.¹²³

The merchants throughout Iowa expressed immediate enthusiasm concerning the effect of the loans. Some of them follow:

In Greene county, businessmen were generally agreed that the corn loans have been a "shot in the arm" to business during the last ten days.

G. I. Huffman of Scranton said Thursday, he had sold 25 tons more coal to farmers this fall than last.

"My automobile business is taking on life again," he declared.¹²⁴

¹¹⁸ Iowa already had a corn loan statute, but little used, if at all, upon which the national act was modeled and adopted.

¹¹⁹ *Des Moines Register*, November 25, 1933, p. 1.

¹²⁰ *Des Moines Register*, December 2, 1933, p. 1.

¹²¹ *Des Moines Register*, December 5, 1933, p. 1.

¹²² *Des Moines Register*, December 9, 1933, p. 1.

¹²³ *Ibid.*

¹²⁴ *Des Moines Register*, December 15, 1933, p. 1.

Of all the notes received, [corn loans] about ninety per cent came from Iowa.¹²⁵

This offers an explanation for the more active participation of the Iowa corn grower in the Farm Holiday. He was by far in the poorest position of any of the Midwesterners.

In ninety-seven counties of the state, \$11,102,718 had been paid by December 20, 1933. By February 25, 1934, the loans totaled \$48,286,478.58. The loans at that time were expected to total \$60,000,000 and, after the last loans were counted off, this amount had been far surpassed.¹²⁶

Perhaps the loans, or perhaps renewed confidence, caused many merchants to show an increase in business. In the following towns, the merchants showed an increase over the business of the previous year and the previous month of from 10 per cent to 100 per cent: Algona, Audubon, Bloomfield, Carroll, Clarinda, Clinton, Montezuma, Northwood, Red Oak, Sac City, Sibley and Webster City.¹²⁷

Forty-seven towns and cities had been polled in the state and thirty-seven of them had shown improvement of business over the same time a year before. Many persons believed this to be due to the corn loans and Civil Works Administration checks. *The Des Moines Register* expressed the feeling in this manner:

There is a decided spirit of optimism exhibited by merchants, farmers and workers in the majority. Merchants declare C. W. A. payrolls and corn loans have spurred business already to some extent.¹²⁸

Perhaps too much significance has been attached to the loans, but in Webster county, 520 of the county's 1147 families on relief rolls had been taken off by December 17, 1933.¹²⁹

LIVESTOCK FEEDERS NOT BENEFITTED

At least one damper was placed on the optimism of the preceding weeks. The feeder communities found

¹²⁵ *Des Moines Register*, December 14, 1933, p. 1.

¹²⁶ *Des Moines Register*, February 25, 1934.

¹²⁷ *Des Moines Sunday Register*, December 17, 1933, p. 5,L.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

¹²⁹ *Des Moines Sunday Register*, December 17, 1933, p. 1.

that they would not be benefitted until the price of livestock went up. Corn loans would not help the livestock raiser, since he could not feed 45 cent corn to hogs which brought only 3 cents a pound.¹³⁰ It was not until the farmers signed up for the hog reduction program that they were able to reap the benefits of the corn loans. Thirty-one persons signed their first contracts by January 11, 1934.¹³¹ They agreed to reduce their corn acreage by 20 per cent and hog production by 25 per cent under the average of the past three years.¹³² By February 4, 56,970 persons had signed up for the program.

The other item which tolled the death knell of the farm revolts was the notice that the government had insured bank deposits.¹³³ This destroyed the last vestige of organization which the Farm Holiday was able to claim. Mention of the Holiday Movement ceased to appear in the newspapers and, though Milo Reno attempted to use the Holiday as a rallying point for a third political party, he had lost most of his supporters.

The corn loans, hog reduction, insurance of bank deposits, the Civil Works Administration, and the mortgage refinancing plans did not completely alleviate the farmers' economic plight, but they did establish confidence in the Federal government and its attempts to aid the farmers. Some foreclosures which had been started earlier were continued and many farmers were not immediately out of debt, but the program established gave them a chance to visualize the end of their economic despair and this in itself was a great stride forward. It was only a matter of time until the farmer again was a solvent citizen. Once this fact became evident, the farm revolts were no more.

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¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

¹³¹ *Des Moines Register*, January 11, 1934, p. 1.

¹³² *Ibid.*

¹³³ *Des Moines Register*, January 2, 1934, p. 1.

James F. Wilson, Legalistic Free-Soiler

By EARLE D. ROSS

A NEGLECTED BIOGRAPHY

Of the many distinguished Iowans whose careers have had no adequate biographical interpretation, in view of his influence upon state and national policies, perhaps the most signally neglected has been James Falconer Wilson (1828-1895). In an obituary appreciation in 1895 Charles Aldrich gave confident prediction that so achieving a leader would attract a competent and understanding biographer.¹ But somehow, after nearly three score years not even the stimulus of a doctoral dissertation has induced such a study.

Certainly the investigation should be highly rewarding. In a turbulent period the career was one of unusual unity of purpose and consistency of policy. Hence, the professional and political activities are significant not only in themselves but in symbolizing a certain type of mind and method of leadership.

FORMATIVE YEARS

Like many eminent public men of the middle period Wilson's rise from humble origins was a real life story more remarkable than an Algerian romance. Born at Newark, Ohio, of a poor but highly respected family, at ten he became the main dependence of his widowed mother. As an apprentice he learned the trade of harness maker which he followed for a few years. Meanwhile largely by self instruction he had acquired a good basic education. On this foundation he began in

¹ Certain sources of information were available at that time—such as the unrecorded observations of associates and Wilson's personal papers—which no longer exist. Scattered manuscript materials may be found in the papers of Allison, Grenville Dodge, Kirkwood, Kasson and others.

Printed sources for his career include *Debates Const. Con. of Iowa* (1857); *Journal House of Rep. 7th Gen. Assem. of Iowa*, (1858); *Journal of Senate 8th Gen. Assem. of Iowa* (1860); same extra session (1861); *Cong. Globe*, 57-60 Cong. (1861-1869); *Con. Record*, 48-53

his spare time the reading of law which he completed with a brilliant young attorney, William B. Woods who was destined to reach the supreme court of the United States. For a young man with good reasoning powers and habits of concentrated application such a rigorous method was admirable.

Following his admission to the bar and marriage, like a host of ambitious young professional men of the Old Northwest, he sought the more immediate opportunities of the developing Middle Border. In 1853, the young couple came to Fairfield, Iowa, which was to be their future home.

PIONEER FREE-SOILER

It was a strategic time for a young man of his talents and convictions. Free soil sentiment in the state was steadily mounting and the election of Grimes the following year put Iowa definitely in the line of the new departure. The young attorney gave tireless support to the new party movement in speeches, editorials in the local paper, and leadership in organizations. He was a delegate to the organizing convention of the Republican party in Iowa on February 22, 1860, and later was chosen one of the five delegates at large to the historic Chicago convention.

From the scanty records of the individual preferences of the Iowa delegation, it is known that Wilson stood firmly against a compromise on candidates or

Cong. (1883-1895); *Trial of Andrew Johnson* (1868); *House Rep.* No. 77, 42 Cong. 3 Sess. ("Credit Mobilizer") (1873); *House Rep.* ("Union Pacific Affairs") (1873); "James F. Wilson" (a symposium by C. M. Junkin, W. B. Allison, E. H. Conger, S. H. M. Byers), *Midland Monthly*, IV, 48-55 (1895); James F. Wilson, "Thought in Education," *Annals of Iowa* (2nd Ser.) I, 85-98; (1882); "The Bible and Science," *ibid.*, 105-116 (1882); "Christian W. Slagle," *Iowa Hist. Record*, III, 529-543 (1887); William H. Barnes, *Hist. of the Thirty-Ninth Cong. of the U. S.* (1867); Edward McPherson, *Political Hist. of the U. S. A. During the Great Rebellion* (1882); same, *Pol. Hist. of the U. S. During the Per. of Reconstruction* (1880); *Fairfield Ledger*, Apr. 24, May 1, 8, 1895; *Iowa State Register*, April 23, 24, 1895.

Secondary writings of value include C. J. Fulton, *Hist. of Jefferson County, Iowa* (1914); D. E. Clark, *Hist. of Senatorial Elections in Iowa* (1912); E. P. Overholtzer, *Hist. of U. S. Since Civil War* (5 v. 1917-37).

Biographies and memoirs of leading contemporaries contain scattered references.

platform. Backed by a home town that had early formed an "Irrepressible Club" and that organized the first band of "Wide Awakes" in the state, he contributed in full measure to the impressive majority for Lincoln which forecasted the future trend of the "Vermont of the West."

STATE LEGISLATOR

Meanwhile state offices had fairly been thrust upon him. In 1857, as a member of the state constitutional convention, he was appointed to eight committees and made chairman of that on state debts.

Wilson's thorough grounding in basic legal principles found early recognition in a new state where broad and exact legal knowledge was at a premium. In spite of youth he was not backward in expressing opinions on a variety of important matters, as is evidenced by the five and a half columns of index under his name. The same year Governor Grimes appointed him a commissioner of the highly controversial Des Moines River Improvement project.

Finally to top off a more than full year, he was elected representative to the Seventh General Assembly, which was the first to convene at the new capital in January, 1858. Incredible for a freshman member, he was made chairman of ways and means, as well as securing membership on two other major committees, banks and incorporations.

The next year his district promoted him to the senate. In the regular session he participated in code revision and in the special session, in the absence of the lieutenant governor, he served as president pro tem with general approval. It is evident that the serious, self-educated young lawyer was regarded by his associates as "young in years but in sage counsel old." There is no evidence that he felt any doubt as to his ability to assume responsibilities as they came to him so naturally.

BECOMES AN M. C.

From such thorough and rapid proving in the state

realm he was called to the national sphere in the most critical years that the Union had experienced.

In the summer of 1861, Gen. Samuel R. Curtis, one of the two Iowa representatives, resigned to enter the army and Wilson was elected to the vacancy. He was reelected for three successive terms and thus served during the crucial 37th-40th congresses (December 1861-March 1869).

During his first term the absence of the other representative, Col. William Vandever with his regiment, gave the new member the duties and responsibilities of looking after the interests of the entire state. At the same time, the situation gave him unusual influence and standing for a new member.

One important early service that he was enabled to render was in furthering the appointment of a distinguished Iowan, Samuel F. Miller, to the supreme court. In putting through a measure to readjust federal circuits and in securing the endorsements of a large proportion of representatives his aid was regarded as determining.

With the Thirty-eighth congress, in 1863, the Iowa representation was increased to six. It was a strong delegation, including such notables as Allison, Grinnell, and Kasson. But the member from the first district was by no means overshadowed by such distinguished associates.

CIVIL WAR LEGISLATOR

In Washington, as back in Iowa, his legal skill found immediate recognition. In his first term he was appointed to the judiciary committee and at the beginning of the second term he was elected to the chairmanship, which he continued to hold throughout his service. This committee had a key influence in framing war and reconstruction legislation, and Wilson was thus enabled to serve the free-soil cause more effectively than he could as a member of the select committees on the conduct of the war and of reconstruction.

In fact his legislative record charts the evolving war

program. Early in his service he presented a resolution to add to the articles of war a prohibition of the use of the armed forces to return fugitive slaves. He served on the select committee on compensated emancipation for the border states. In January 1863, he introduced a joint resolution "to approve, ratify, and confirm" the Emancipation Proclamation. The interests of the soldier and sailor were regarded in the initiation of an amendment to the homestead act to commute the residence period by that of military service.

Finally and mainly, singly or jointly, resolutions were formulated and presented which embodied the essential principles of the war amendments. In particular he led the support in the house of the Civil Rights bill of 1866, the forerunner of the 14th amendment, against charges of unconstitutionality in a speech, which, in the judgment of Blaine, "was of great strength and legal research."

At the same time the business lawyer was by no means indifferent to the far-reaching departures that war economy was taking. He sought to moderate the income tax in the lower brackets. To secure more fully the new credit system, he proposed the tax on state bank issues. While favorable to what he regarded as reasonable protection, he opposed in the interests of his region the inordinate increases proposed in 1866. He gave hearty support to the homestead act and the railroad grants, but, like certain other prominent midwesterners in both houses, he opposed the Morrill college land-grant act as unfavorable to the landed states.

RECONSTRUCTION LEADER

In the conflict between presidential and congressional authority in reconstruction, by constitutional conviction and partisan devotion to the great cause, Wilson had an intransigent commitment to the full and final jurisdiction of congress. As an old-line Whig he naturally emphasized legislative supremacy and his public service had all been with that branch. A decade before in the state constitutional convention he had

asserted that he was "no friend to the veto power." The issue had appeared only at an incipient stage under Lincoln. Wilson was loyal throughout to the free-soil president; he was a member of the delegation to notify Lincoln of his second nomination and was given at his request the original manuscript of the acceptance address. (Now on file at Iowa State Department of History & Archives.)

None the less, from the closing months of the war, Wilson as chairman of the judiciary committee, had asserted by declamatory resolutions the determining power of congress over restoration of the seceded states. In such formulations of policy he generally found himself in agreement with the aims and methods of the radical members of the committee on reconstruction. In effect he served as counselor for the "thorough" congressional reconstructionists in finding at every turn a legal course of action. In his judgment military reconstruction was essential both for justice and expediency, and he frankly asserted that the only permanent security for the cause was in maintaining Republican supremacy in the South on the basis of the remnant of loyal whites and the freedmen.

To realize these ends he would maintain legislative supremacy over judicial as well as executive authority. He thus subtly and adroitly prevented a judicial review of military reconstruction by adding to a general judicial act an amendment repealing the jurisdiction of the supreme court under the habeas corpus act of 1867.

At the same time, he drew the line at irregular, non-judicable tactics. With all his zeal for the complete free-soil program, what he would, he would legally—according to the code and the regular procedure. On this stand he broke sharply with the irresponsible extremists over the preliminary, fantastically concocted charges of impeachment.

These emotional diatribes and imaginary assumptions presented under guise of a bill of high crimes Wilson regarded both as a travesty on the rules of evi-

dence and an affront to the dignity of his committee. He carried a minority report to the floor of the House where after an argument "able and positive, holding the attention of members in a marked and exceptional degree" the spurious charges were overwhelmingly rejected. Could both sides have kept at least to the letter of the law the scandalous perversions of the impeachment trial might have been avoided. But seemingly passions and ambitions had been aroused to the degree where no holds were barred.

MANAGER OF IMPEACHMENT TRIAL

With the open violation of the tenure-of-office act, which he had helped to draft, Wilson felt that the struggle had changed completely; a definite case had arisen. In his view a "high crime" had been committed for which the constitutional safeguard should be invoked. Whatever the ultimate decision of the court as to the constitutionality of the act (a test that the radicals were careful to prevent) so long as the statute was in force, he argued, it was to be obeyed without question. Fessenden's contemporary opinion that Wilson had departed from "his usual discretion" and Cyrenus Cole's later charge that he had "succumbed to popular clamor" fail to take account of the real if nice distinction which he made between intent and attitude and the resort to an overt act.

Whatever the motive, Wilson's support to their crowning effort brought great elation to the radical camp. His selection as a member of the committee to formulate the articles of impeachment and as one of the trial managers was a recognition of his legal standing and his influence with the more moderate element of the party. To a pettifogger like Butler and to fanatics like Stevens and Boutwell he was undoubtedly valued mainly as respectable window dressing—something of which their case was in great need.

In the trial the leading lawyer of the prosecution who was the only equal of the distinguished talent retained by the defense, was given little opportunity to demonstrate his learning and reasoning powers. His main

contribution was an argument on the responsibility of the executive to observe an act of congress regardless of his opinion and that of his advisers as to its constitutionality. On this point he presented an elaborate disquisition based upon long and rigorous preparation. Such a learned presentation kept the solemn tribunal from being quite the kangaroo court that the blatant managers deliberately sought to make it. Whatever the outcome, the legalist's standard of argument and method of procedure would have prevented what a leading authority in American constitutional history has termed "the most regrettable and shameful exhibition of personal spite and ruthless partisanship in American history."

A RAILROAD INTERLUDE

Following his service in this stormiest of congresses, Wilson voluntarily retired to private life and the practice of his profession. Had he desired to remain in the public service the highest appointive positions could have been his for the taking. Certainly this was assured so far as the incoming president was concerned.

General Grant was so impressed by the soundness of Wilson's advice during the controversy over the control of the war department that he was quoted as saying " . . . James F. Wilson of Iowa . . . is the clearest-headed man in congress." He gave signal demonstration of this respect by offering the retiring representative the headship of the department of state. Unfortunately Grant soon countered this selection by the maladroit temporary appointment of a close friend, Elihu Washburn, with the understanding that neither appointments or policies would be initiated by him. When the conditions were broken, Wilson refused to serve. He declined two later offers to enter Grant's cabinet and, according to well-founded reports, that of Garfield.

Wilson was not one to "hunker" for office, especially in executive service. What he wrote of his fellow townsman, Christian Slagle, that "he seemed not inclined to enter upon the strife" which so often attended

getting and holding office, undoubtedly expressed his own personal feeling.

During the next decade and a half he devoted himself largely to his profession, the improvement of his suburban farm, and to community projects. The only public position which he held in these years was that of a director of the Union Pacific railroad company for six years under Grant and one under Hayes.

His connection with this railroad, in and out of congress, brought Wilson's name into two of the investigations so numerous and notorious in this period—those dealing with the credit mobilier and the general management of the road. Unlike many prominent national figures, who sought to equivocate or prevaricate regarding the transaction, Wilson admitted frankly that he had invested \$1,000 (a fifth of what he had sought) in the stock of the construction organization, but when he had come to doubt the soundness of the management he disposed of his holdings. To the charge that he had been paid a substantial retainer from a special "expense fund," he made an emphatic denial and no substantiating proof was presented. While his admission and defense brought unfavorable comments from certain eastern journals, there is no evidence that the connection weakened his standing in the state. Probably the great majority of his fellow citizens agreed with his view that his contribution to and relations with this great regional and national enterprise had been not only legally above board but far-sighted and public spirited.

IN THE U. S. SENATE

From 1866, Wilson had been mentioned for the senatorship and he was the chief rival of Allison in 1872. But he did not press his candidacy or engage in the bitter party struggles of the following decade, and consequently made no enemies. Hence in 1882, with the withdrawal of lesser candidates, the office came to him naturally and without the personal bitterness that had attended most of the previous legislative selections. Samuel S. Storrs commented editorially in the *ANNALS*

OF IOWA, "It is amusing to see Mr. Wilson ride triumphantly into the United States senate. One candidate after another dropped out of the list, till Wilson stood alone in solitary grandeur." His reelection was as readily secured.

In the senate he could not have the relative influence that he had exerted in the house. His service on committees was conscientious and competent. He was especially active in the regulation of interstate commerce and was influential in the drafting and enactment of the original act of 1887.

Next to his great cause of anti-slavery was that of prohibition, and to this reform he gave a large portion of his waning physical strength and persuasive effort. Personally he was a strict teetotaler and an original member of the Sons of Temperance.

He was outspoken in the faction that sought to commit the Republican party to this reform, which in 1883 he urged upon the state convention. The proposal gained sufficient support to be a leading issue in the state election six years later.

Now in congress, he secured the enactment of the "original package" act which was regarded at the time as a notable safeguard for the dry states.

For years his health had been rapidly declining and he barely survived the end of his term. He failed to reach quite the biblical span, but his years had been full and useful to an unusual degree.

A SUMMING UP

James F. Wilson's career fell in an era of distressingly low standards in public service and private business, resulting from the strains and stresses of internal strife and the unsettlement and disorganization of epochal economic and social transition. He was inevitably a man of his time, subject to its attitudes, prejudices and errancies. But he was one of its better representatives, who rose well above the average of its political and professional leaders. If at times in his zeal for the great cause and the party which he identified with it, he resorted to legal and legislative

finesse—took all the tricks that the law allowed—in sharp contrast to the fanatic, the demagogue, and the spoilsman, he was careful to keep within the bounds of the code and of the regular rules of procedure.

In training and personal conviction this son of the Old Northwest had a deep puritanical sense of personal and public probity and of his obligations to the general interest, in all relationships. He was a strictly orthodox churchman of the "old school." In background and temperament he was a crusader, especially for his major causes, which he promoted relentlessly regardless of personal interest. Rhetorically, but with essential truth, Johnson Brigham recorded that "His life-blood went into the anti-slavery movement and the long struggle for the enfranchisement, and into the movement for the restriction of the sale of intoxicating liquors." But most enduring of all, despite all the pressures and provocations of a stressful career, he was a consistent champion of that most basic safeguard of responsible government and of individual security, in peace and war, prosperity and depression, government under law.

History Preserved at Its Source

The first national historical society was founded in the midst of the Second War of Independence, Oct. 24, 1812, by Isaiah Thomas, one of the great pioneer editors of the nation. He was the founder of the *Massachusetts Spy*, which had an important part in the formulation of public opinion in favor of the original war of independence. He moved it to Worcester in 1775, to escape seizure of his plant by the British, and kept it there after the Revolution.

Consequently, Worcester became the home of the American Antiquarian Society, which Thomas organized and endowed. He was a far-seeing man who bequeathed a fortune to be devoted to preserving the annals and relics of patriotism and progress for the benefit of succeeding generations. He thus established a new pattern of philanthropy.

A Church That Refused to Die

By WALLACE E. SHERLOCK¹

Lancaster township, Keokuk county, was one of the very first townships settled in Iowa, west of the west line of the second "Black Hawk Purchase." We believe the reason God saw to it that it was one of the very first, lay in the fact Almighty God wanted to use it as a model for other communities in the remainder of Iowa, to follow.

Before May 1, 1843, the land in Iowa west of that purchase belonged to the Indians. The dividing line crossed the southeastern corner of Keokuk county and included practically all of Richland, much of Jackson, the larger part of Clear Creek and parts of Lafayette and Liberty townships.

The lands lying west of that line were thrown open to settlers on May 1, 1843. At 1 minute after 12 o'clock midnight of that morning, Obediah Tharp, Presley Doggett, James Robinson, Amos Holloway, Sam Hargesday, George Wimer, J. B. Whistler, William Trueblood and their families crossed the line near where Ollie now stands.

By noon of that day these hardy pioneers forded their "River Jordan"—the South Skunk river—into the promised land of their dreams, now East Lancaster township. Doggett, Robinson and Holloway located east and southeast of where the Doggett schoolhouse now stands. Tharp and Trueblood settled east of what later

¹ Mr. Sherlock is a veteran Iowa newsman, who has served a number of important Hawkeye newspapers in editorial and reportorial capacities, more recently for ten years past the editor of the *Fairfield Daily Ledger*, from which he retired on his eightieth birthday, September 25, 1953, but still resides there. Included among the papers he served were the *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, *Kansas City Journal*, *St. Paul Pioneer Press-Dispatch*, *Iowa Homestead* and the *St. Louis Journal of Agriculture*. He was born near Sigourney, Iowa, but his youth was spent in Aurora, Nebraska. For a time he taught school and was superintendent of the Keswick High school and in 1896 became Keokuk county treasurer. Being a man of culture and wide experience, his retirement from daily newspaper work opens new fields of literary endeavor much less exacting, but equally valuable.

became the town of Lancaster. Tharp stalked his claim on 60 acres which is said to have lain south of the gravel road now running immediately east of the old town-site. Hardesday, Wimer and Whistler settled in West Lancaster township.

During the next two or three years came such hardy pioneers as Jacob Goodhart, Jacob Wimer, Cris Broliar, John W. Snelson, George Clingen, James and John Vitetoe, Corbin Utterback (Sr.), B. F. Chastain, William H. Brunt, Austin Jacobs (Sr.), Daniel Connor and others whose names we have forgotten.

FOLLOWERS OF ALEXANDER CAMPBELL

A large majority of these hardy pioneers were followers of Alexander Campbell, who called themselves the Disciples of Christ or Christians. One of their very first concerns was to build a house in which to worship God and bring up their children in the Sunday school and church in the way they should go.

Practically all of them lived in log houses, but they decided that God should have a better dwelling place. They built a brick church in Lancaster—the very first brick church and the first church in the county to cost \$1,000 or more. One thousand dollars was a “king’s ransom” in those days; but they “set their jaws,” raised the money and built the church!

Many times they could not afford a full-time minister. Times were when they could afford preaching only once each four weeks. The minister preached on Saturday evening, Sunday morning and Sunday evening. They held Sunday school and communion services every Sunday forenoon. The monthly Sunday evening services usually over-filled the church.

ABLE MEN FILLED PULPITS

Some of these early preachers were very able men. Later, in the late 1880’s, came such able men as Elder Guthrie and such student ministers as Frank Snider, Loren Howe, Bruce Brown and others. They were all usually greeted with more people than the church would accommodate. Elder Guthrie was one of the most able pulpit orators we have ever heard before or

since. Snider, Howe and Brown gave good accounts of themselves after their graduations.

It is needless to say there were no child delinquencies, no problem children, very few disagreements between neighbors. When we left Keokuk county in 1907 to assume charge of the *Journal of Agriculture* in St. Louis, there never had been a suit in the district court in which one or both of the parties had come from Lancaster township. We have not heard of any such litigation since then.

As the years came and went, as years have an unceasing way of doing, the older members of the church passed to their eternal rewards, others moved to Sigourney, to other parts of the state, to other states even as far as the Atlantic and Pacific coasts.

Other farmers moved in from other parts of the county, from other counties if not from other states. As is the attitude of all new comers, these fine new additions to East Lancaster were usually somewhat slow in taking an active part in church work. But as is always the case, these newcomers saw the need of a sanctuary in their midst.

Of course, God dwells in all parts of the earth, but He knew that Man and his Wife must have a tangible object that stands for God's presence in any and every community. It must be some form of a house—a dwelling place. It may have been a log church in an eastern state; a sod church on the plains; or a brick church in Lancaster township.

God made this fact very plain in a recapitulation of His Laws, in the Book of Leviticus. He ordered Moses in Exodus to "let them (the Children of Israel) make me a sanctuary; that I may dwell among them." In Leviticus He says: "Ye shall keep my sabbaths and reverence my sanctuary." Again: "And I will walk among you and will be your God, and ye shall be my people."

The time came when Lancaster outgrew the old brick church. God intends that man and woman shall advance. With other advancements, God has a right

to have a better and more up-to-date sanctuary. These Lancaster people saw to it that God got a better sanctuary. They have built one of the most modern country churches in the state of Iowa. It has practically all the modern conveniences that most city and town churches have.

WEAKENED BY MEMBERSHIP CHANGES

There was a period of time several years ago when the changes of the times brought changes in the church. There were several deaths, some families moved out of the township over a period of a few years. The church closed its doors for a time. The future of the church appeared dark for a time. As one citizen of the township explained: "We had our ups and downs, but now we are having our ups again."

The Rev. Jasper Smith, a farmer, who lives 12 miles southwest of Lancaster, was called as pastor. He preaches every Sunday morning. Remembering what the old brick church used to accommodate, we satisfied ourself there were more people at the services than were at Sunday morning services when the brick church served the township needs.

The church that has refused to die is well on the way to a permanent future. The principal reason it has refused to die lies in the fact that Lancaster people are not quitters. They can take a lot of punishment in life's battles, but the word "quit" has never found a place in their dictionaries. It is this writer's guess it never will.

Safety and Silence

Nothing can ruin a country if the people themselves undertake its safety; nothing can save it if they leave that safety in any hands but their own.—Daniel Webster.

To sin by silence when they should protest, makes cowards of men.—Abraham Lincoln.

They that can give up essential liberty to obtain a little temporary safety deserve neither liberty nor safety.—Benjamin Franklin.

Distrusted "Political Democracy"

By LYLE WILSON

There is no good word in the United States Constitution for the political system known as "democracy" in which tellers count all the heads, empty or not, and give the decision to the most numerous.

The founding fathers rejected democracy as undesirable and established the United States as a republic, specifically guaranteeing to each state a republican form of government. (Article 4, Section 4).

In contrast to the democratic or popular head-counting political form which the Constitution rejected, the republican form is properly defined like this: A state in which the sovereign power resides in the people, qualified voters, and is exercised by representatives elected by them.

It was Madison's fear that democracy favored the self-seeking maneuvers of factions or blocs within a political party.

The Journal of Constitutional Discussion indicates that the authors did not reject democracy because it was bad of itself. They rejected democracy more because it was deemed unsuitable to a nation already so large in area and numerous in population as the combined colonies of that time.

These facts are intimately related to the national and Congressional discussion expected this year seeking more satisfactory process of nominating and electing presidents of the United States. Dwight D. Eisenhower's inauguration in 1953 reminded millions of persons that they did not like many things they observed about those processes last year.

There has been national dissatisfaction with the presidential elective process and agitated discussion of it for many more than 100 years. In establishing the present Electoral College process, instead of per-

mitting congress to elect our presidents, some of the authors of the Constitution felt that they had disposed of the most difficult of all the problems confronting them.

The direction of discussion in recent years has been generally toward more democracy and less representative republicanism in the election of presidents. There is now scattered support for abandonment of the Electoral College and for direct popular vote for president. The 17th Amendment establishing a direct popular vote for United States senators in place of their selection by state legislatures was a symptom in 1912 of what could come.

But, regardless of the 17th Amendment and the current talk of direct election of presidents, there is no doubt what the authors of the Constitution thought of political democracy. They did not trust it and were against it.

The General's Failing

At a reunion of the Indiana Association of Iowa held on the campus of Drake University at Des Moines, in August, 1887, Gen. George W. Jones, of Dubuque, ex-U. S. senator from Iowa, was present and made an appropriate speech, he being an Indianan, having been born in Vincennes in that state. After the exercises had been concluded, and before the general had left the stand, two ladies, Mrs. M. and Miss J., went to the stand and requested the president of the association, Judge P. M. Casady, to introduce them to the witty and polite general, which he did. The general, shaking hands, kissed each of them heartily in the presence of the large audience there assembled. The ladies blushed, and those who witnessed the scene smiled, some of them audibly. It is improbable that the ladies would have solicited an introduction if they had known the general's failing. The general said to the president he could not resist the temptation of kissing such good looking ladies.—*Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. 4, 5 and 6, p. 432.

Restraint of Executive Power

Paramount among the problems of our time is the reconciliation of executive power with democratic freedom. The question we face is not can they be reconciled, but how can it be done. Even under great exigencies we do not readily surrender our traditional democratic freedoms. Yet we have learned that the circumstances of present-day society require far-reaching exercise of executive authority by government. We are today concerned with the perfecting of our administrative methods and institutions so that we may in full measure realize the benefits of executive action without jeopardy to our personal rights and collective liberties.

The issue of power versus freedom is as old as history. Restatement of the issue in terms of power *and* freedom is relatively a new idea. It is hardly older indeed than the American republic, which is one of the few places in the world today where men have attempted the fusion of power and freedom in the laboratory of self-government. But the experiment could never have been begun until men came to believe that it ought to be tried; that it was safe to try.

At the beginning of our national history few Americans believed that executive power and democratic freedom were compatible. A century-and-a-half of colonial rule had fixed in many American minds the inseparable association of executive power with arbitrary authority. The colonial governors personified the irresponsible coercive power of English kings or lords proprietors. Colonial champions of popular liberties had been the leaders of the legislative assemblies. No governor distinguished himself as a defender of popular rights. And so when the royal provinces became republican states the executive power was treated as the invincible enemy of popular freedom. In most of the states executive office was abolished or was made subordinate to the legislature. In the Conti-

mental Congress most executive functions were performed by legislative committees. Only to command the continental armies and to finance the war for independence did congress create distinct administrative offices, and these were subject to congressional control.

Had Americans desired strong executive leadership they would have found little native talent. Few Americans had had experience in administrative management. Of these, most were officers of the crown and were expelled as Tories with the British. Neither hierarchy of church or state, traditional training grounds for European administrators, were generally available to Americans. Manufacturing was insignificant and small scale commerce and plantation supervision afforded very limited opportunity for the development of managerial skill. All of the early presidents declared their inability to find a sufficient number of competent administrators to fill even the small number of public offices in their charge. The Colonial and Continental armies were meager schools of management, but they afforded the most generally available opportunity for the development of administrative capacity. Washington, Hamilton, and George Clinton were among the few competent administrators of the new republic, and much of their preparation for civil administration was acquired in uniform.

Now, army life is seldom conceded to be a good proving ground for civil administrators. But the troops of the thirteen colonies bore little resemblance to the larger, better trained and impersonally directed armies of continental Europe. The American provincials were untrained and unaccustomed to imposed discipline. The militias could be led; they could not be directed. Desertion and disobedience were not, in the public view, serious offenses. Only in critical situations could military discipline be enforced as it was understood abroad. Officers who were leaders—Wolfe, Amherst, Arnold and Washington—were successful. Officers who could

command, but could not lead in a very direct way were ineffective, and their number was legion.

Of the commanding militia officers in the war for independence, none was more effective and more universally popular than George Clinton of New York. His talent for leadership was fully recognized by Washington and Hamilton, who were as rigorous judges of managerial capacity as the times afforded. And he was genuinely loved by his men, who found him a patron "distinguishing and redressing every grievance." George Clinton was one of very few leaders in the republic who combined democratic leadership and administrative skill; one of few whom the common people would trust with real executive power. They trusted the man, and in time they learned that they could also trust the magistrate, whom through the elective process they could hold to account.

As Washington set the pattern for presidential administration, so Clinton, before Washington, established the precedents which were to influence successive governors of New York. Jefferson was an effective political leader and Hamilton a more creative architect of government. But in the day-to-day administration of public affairs Governor George Clinton was not excelled. And it was this talent, tolerably common in our times, but rare in his, that was indispensable if the experiment of government by people was not to end at its very beginning through simple failure of administrative competence.

Politically Clinton represented the middle class democracy of New York state. Although he never fully understood Jefferson, he agreed with the general tenor of his political philosophy. Clinton stood for a law-and-order liberalism which opposed equally the predation of the rich and the violence of the crowd. He favored a government of clearly defined and limited powers, but believed that these powers should be exercised with full vigor. He shared the sentiments of the rank and file Americans whom he represented.—Lyn-ton K. Caldwell in *New York History*.

Iowa People and Events . . .

Duncombe Praised Associates

No more vividly personal picture of the Eighth General Assembly of Iowa has been handed down to us than that which Sen. John F. Duncombe, of Fort Dodge, drew off-hand, on being called to the presidency of the Pioneer Lawmakers' Association in Des Moines on the 25th of February, 1886. As illustrating Mr. Duncombe's free and happy colloquial style, his camaraderie and the generous tone in which he was wont to refer to his contemporaries of other days—with not a few of whom he had many a contest in debate—we quote, somewhat freely, from this extempore address:

. . . When, on the 8th of January, 1860, I was sworn in as a senator, representing or misrepresenting the entire northwest quarter of the State of Iowa, I met there the elegant and able lawyer, John W. Rankin—long since passed over the dark river; and the eloquent and brave Cyrus Bussey, a general of the late war; the bold, rough, big-hearted Harvey W. English, a soldier of the Mexican war; the polished, handsome, scholarly Wm. F. Coolbaugh, whose sad death we all remember so well; the shrewd, calculator, Alvin Saunders, late United States senator from Nebraska; the able United States senator, James F. Wilson, who now represents our state in congress; the brilliant wit, A. O. Patterson, who we all hoped would be here and speak for himself; the analytic, sterling ex-congressman, L. L. Ainsworth, whose sharp sarcasms always caused the procession to move on where the way was blocked; the sound and cautious ex-Congressman Pusey, whose advice was always taken; the dashing Tom Drummond, peace to his ashes; the wideawake Col. John Scott, who now again honors the senate with his presence.

And there was honest Dan Anderson and Jarius E. Neal, and Udell and Bailey, and Taylor and Thompson and Davis and Angle and Judge Wilson of Dubuque, and Trumbull and Hammer and McPherson and Brown and Gray and Powers, and many more whose names I cannot now mention, but whose memories I shall ever cherish; and over all presided the good-hearted German, Nicholas J. Rusch, whose voice from

across the river I still in memory hear calling, the "Chintlemen fram Vebster has the floor," in that pleasant, good-natured manner, as I heard it twenty-six years ago; and then there was "Lin Kinsale," the newspaper correspondent, who from time to time, with his sharp pen, tormented and flayed Democrat senators and made giants of small men on the other side.

At the next session there was McCrary, since secretary of war, United States circuit judge, and now attorney of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad Company; and there was our own Benj. F. Gue and the polished Jennings and many that I have not now time to mention; but among them all I shall never forget the noble, brave man, Col. James Redfield, whose life's blood poured out on the altar of his country—than whom Julius Caesar was never braver. I shall never forget how, when the lightning flashed over the wire from Donelson, the word "victory," when the house and senate gave out one shout of triumph, he was almost overwhelmed with enthusiasm.

In the house I will only mention one man. Among the noble men there was Gen. Nathaniel B. Baker. At that time he had the most remarkable executive ability I ever saw. His quickness, his courage, his readiness, his wit, his sarcasm—his powers of argument were all in full activity, and he was an exceedingly dangerous foe on any field. His great big heart has long since ceased to beat, but Iowa can never forget its debt to General Baker, and his memory should never fade away. When the roll of these assemblies is now called, there is no response for Redfield, Robb, Rankin, Coolbaugh, Thompson, Judge Wilson, McPherson, Drummond and many others who answered the roll call at the sessions of the Eighth and Ninth General Assemblies and the two special sessions between 1860 and 1864. They have gone—conquerors in the battle of life. Their names are not forgotten; their acts aided very much to mold our laws and institutions, and bring beautiful Iowa into the proud position in the great sisterhood of states which she now holds.

General Baker's Advice to Aldrich

Perhaps Iowa never had a more popular or able public man than Gen. Nathaniel B. Baker. Chapters could be written upon his performance in both civil and military circles. Already, at 32 years of age, when he came to Iowa and settled in Clinton county in 1856, he had served a term as governor of New Hampshire, as its

last Democrat governor until later; then having espoused the cause of the Know Nothing party, suffered something of a political eclipse.

His first official service in Iowa was in the house of representatives from Clinton county in the Eighth General Assembly. Quickly his ability was recognized. A discerning newspaper man connected in official capacity with that assembly, left with Governor Gue two revealing pictures of this stalwart Yankee duly westernized:

Honest John Edwards, speaker, while a good presiding officer when everything went well, was only too glad, when storms arose, to call the gentleman from Clinton to the chair. As soon as Baker took up the gavel, order came out of chaos and the business was pushed along rapidly. . . . As a presiding officer he had many of the characteristics of James G. Blaine. He was, no doubt, somewhat arbitrary, as every good speaker must be; but he had an instinctive horror of seeing time wasted.

The autobiographical touch given the second picture adds to its interest, for the clerk referred to was none other than Charles Aldrich, founder of the Historical Department of Iowa, and author of this sketch:

The house had elected for chief clerk a young man who had never seen a legislative body in session two days in his life. . . . When the session was about four days old, Baker came to the desk . . . saying rather sternly: "See here, young man, I've got something to say to you . . . I sit right down there . . . where I can see you from head to foot,, and I notice when you are reading or calling the roll, that your knees tremble. I want to say to you that that is all ————— nonsense, and I don't want to see any more of it. You needn't stand in awe of anybody in this house! You are going to make a good clerk, and we all like you. Brace right up, my boy, and you are all right!"

A Train Robbery Tradition

Town platting and building largely came to an end in Iowa a good many years ago, but not quite so. A hundred Iowa towns have disappeared, but some new ones appear. One such is said to be in Adair county, near where the old stage road crosses the Middle river,

and near the Madison county border, half-way between Greenfield and Winterset.

There is an interesting tradition about this place. It runs this way. There is no documentary evidence in support, but the tradition was long known and passed from person to person. It was in the days when the celebrated and infamous James brothers were changing over from Confederate guerillas to Missouri bandits. The gang set out from their hiding place in Missouri to pick up some gold and they headed for Iowa. They knew the Wells-Fargo stages were transporting vast amounts of California gold to the east. They found out the route that many of these stages followed across Iowa. They would start with a stage robbery.

So, the James boys gang decided that a good place for such a hold-up would be on the old stage road right where it crosses Middle river and at the county line. They rode their horses to that place all ready for the hold-up. But, alas, there had been a miscalculation and the stage had just passed eastward and there wouldn't be another for a day.

What next? They exchanged information, and found that a Rock Island train would be passing through Adair county at a certain hour. So they turned their horses northward, and arranged their first train robbery to be near the town of Adair. They raided the tool house, loosened a rail, ditched the train two miles out of Adair, killed one trainman and got about \$3,000. The gang was followed into Missouri, but not overtaken. This is said to be the first train robbery that Frank and Jesse James pulled off. They found it easy and repeated several times in Missouri.

The town now being built at the place where the stage robbery was to have taken place, is called Stanzel, recently publicized in being able to retain its post office, although having only 33 inhabitants.

There is another well authenticated story about a time when the James brothers and their followers came into Iowa, and actually planned to raid the city of Des Moines. This was partly an act of revenge. Des

Moines had sent many soldiers to the war to preserve the Union. In their early career the James boys never forgot that their father had been murdered by a band purporting to be Union guerillas. They started for Des Moines and got into Iowa. But stragglers had attached themselves and Frank and Jesse became fearful that they would be betrayed and Des Moines would be ready to beat them off. That was not true, but the fear of it scared them away and they turned toward Kansas. The famous raid on Lawrence followed. And so a Kansas town and not the capital of Iowa got the big raid. These facts were stated by Mrs. Dr. Samuels, the mother of the James brothers, in an interview in a Kansas City paper many years later.

Of course Jesse James crossed Iowa on his way back home from the Northfield bank robbery up in Minnesota, in connection with Cole Younger, and was recognized at various points.

A Civil War Muster Roll

An addition to the Civil war records in the Iowa State Department of History & Archives recently received, is the muster roll of volunteers enlisting under Robert M. Semans, recruiting officer. They were enrolled under the call of President Lincoln in July, 1862, at Burlington, Des Moines county, Iowa, for Company D of the 25th Iowa Volunteers. This muster roll contains 95 entries, of which 33 apparently are individual signatures, the remainder being entered in the same handwriting.

The instrument contains in addition to the names of enrollees, their residence, largely from Burlington, Augusta, Benton and Union in Des Moines county, their ages, nativity, occupations, height, personal description, and date of enlistment. Robert M. Seamans, the recruiting officer and Orange S. Seamans, who joined this company, were brothers of Benjamin B. Seamens, of Burlington, and Middletown, Iowa, the grandfather of Harry W. Seamens of Chevy Chase, Maryland, who presents the muster roll to the state.

Benjamin B. Seamans was born July 12, 1835, near Middletown, Iowa, and died in Burlington March 13, 1901. Sometime prior to his death the *Burlington Hawk-eye* conducted a search for the identity of the first white child born in Des Moines county and at that time Benjamin B. Seamans was determined to be that person. His son, Bert B. Seamans was born on a farm near Middletown, Des Moines county, on February 28, 1871. He served on the police force in Burlington from about 1897 to 1906, and now resides in Middletown, New York.

The grandson and donor of the muster roll, Harry W. Seamans, was born in Burlington on March 23, 1898 and resides just outside of Washington, D. C., where he is a liaison officer in the office of Public Affairs in the U. S. Department of State.

Iowa Loss in Population Shift

Iowa again shows a loss in population the last three years, as shown by a survey released by the national census bureau at Washington. A shift to western and southwestern states is evidenced in the figures presented. The states which experienced the greatest population declines were largely in the south, northeast and the Dakotas. Generally, the pattern of shifting population was much like that of the preceding ten years from 1940 to 1950.

Twelve states lost population between 1950 and July 1, 1953. The bureau listed them as North Dakota, 3.5 per cent; South Dakota, 1.2; Iowa, 1.3; West Virginia, 3.9; Kentucky, 0.6; Tennessee, 0.4; Oklahoma, 0.6; Arkansas, 3.4; Mississippi, 1.2; Maine, 2.7; Vermont, 1.4; and New Hampshire, 1.2.

The only states which lost population in the forties were North Dakota, Oklahoma, Arkansas and Mississippi. The census bureau figures include persons in the armed forces stationed in each state, but exclude members of the armed services overseas. The estimate of Iowa's population on July 1, 1953, was 2,587,000. The

April 1, 1950, figure was 2,621,000. West Virginia, with the biggest loss, dropped from 2,005,552 to 1,927,000.

Nevada, which had the biggest gain the last three years, grew from 160,083 to 199,000. Second-place Arizona increased from 749,587 to 905,000.

A block of eight states in the west and southwest had population gains of 7.5 per cent or more between the 1950 census and last July 1. They were Nevada, 24.5 per cent; Arizona, 20.7; California, 14.2; New Mexico, 11.1; Colorado, 9.9; Wyoming, 9.2; Utah, 8.9, and Texas, 8.9.

Six other states had increases of 7.5 per cent or greater: Florida, 17.9 per cent; Connecticut, 9.0; Delaware, 11.1; Maryland, 9.7; Virginia, 7.5, and Michigan, 7.5.

States with gains between 5.0 and 7.5 per cent were: Washington, 5.9 per cent; Oregon, 7.1; Kansas, 5.3; Indiana, 6.4; Ohio, 6.7; New Jersey, 7.3; District of Columbia, 6.4, and Louisiana, 5.0.

Early Iowa Postoffices Abandoned

In the last few months there has been considerable talk about abolishing the postoffices in villages that have very small patronage. It is contended that their continuation helps enlarge the deficit of the postoffice department and it is claimed that their patrons could be given even better services if their mail was delivered by rural carriers.

In Washington county (Iowa) Richmond and Haskins postoffices would be abandoned if this policy is carried out, also Coppock, Cotter, and Pleasant Plain in neighboring counties.

In this connection, says Bruce Cowden, in the *Washington Evening Journal*, it is interesting to know that in the earlier days of the settlement of Washington county there were many such postoffices, with even smaller patronage than those it is now proposed to close. Some were even out in the open country, some-

times in a private home. In those days they were needed, for means of communication were scanty and slow, when people got around on horseback or in buggies, when the roads often were muddy or snow covered.

The ANNALS OF IOWA in 1931 listed the postoffices in Washington county which had been abandoned. They had been located every few miles, scattered over the county. . . Richmond is in a class by itself among the small villages in this county. It was founded in 1840 and presumably had a postoffice in the very early days of the county's settlement. Like the others that have passed out of existence, it didn't get a railroad, but continued to survive and still has its postoffice, although now threatened with losing it. Haskins, which may also lose its postoffice, came into being when the Milwaukee railroad was built across the county in 1902.

Harrison's Independence

The following items concerning President Benjamin Harrison are taken from Henry L. Stoddard's book, *As I Knew Them: Presidents and Politics from Grant to Coolidge*. Political correspondent Stoddard enjoyed for a century an unusual opportunity to form intimate judgments of public men:

In the 1880 national Republican convention Harrison might have made a bargain for the vice-presidency when the Conkling-Cameron forces were trying to break into different state delegations to capture votes for Grant. He was chairman of the Indiana delegation, supporting Blaine. During the balloting he was handed a card that is still in existence reading, "General Logan and Mr. Cameron will call upon General Harrison at his hotel tonight at nine o'clock."

The two chieftains of the Stalwart forces called promptly at the hour stated. They had authority to say that Harrison would be nominated for vice president if he would throw the Indiana delegates to Grant. During the interview they temptingly called attention to Grant's age, his strenuous career in war, and his eight tiring years as president, leaving Harrison to infer that a vice president elected with Grant would find himself president before the term ended.

"Gentlemen," said Harrison, "I am not ambitious to enter the White House following a hearse."

That ended the interview—and Harrison continued to vote for Blaine until the latter released his supporters in favor of Garfield. Eight years later Blaine showed his appreciation by urging Harrison's nomination.

History's Warning Finger

For five years in Europe, freedom was on the siding, and the main line was kept free for the expresses of facism and communism, flying insulting banners. We don't want that to happen again. It was that state of mind that put our freedoms in peril and made the last World War inevitable.

It is because of this lethargy, or this abnormal state of mind bordering on hysteria, that a rereading and reappraisal of American history, making clear the meaning of freedom, and how it came to us, is of primary importance.

Perhaps the old, reared in a day when men had time to read and think, do not require it; and the middle-aged must have understood the meaning of freedom before the twin devils of totalitarianism confused the millions with their clamor, and they may well reread what they once read and recall what they once thought. But the old are passing out, and the middle-aged will soon be old, and the future of our country is with the children of today who will be the citizens of tomorrow. That means that these children must be drilled in school in the meaning of Americanism, and how it came to us after a bitter struggle.

In this day of mortal combat between ideologies it is not enough that the oncoming generation should be against something; to give meaning to its opposition, it must be for something. When and if it has to march against the hammer and the sickle, we want it to have a banner of its own. School histories should stress the creed of the American way of life, or they fail in a primary function; and this creed should be impressed upon the minds of the oncoming generation.

—Claude G. Bowers.

Iowa's Notable Dead . . .

FREDERICK F. FAVILLE, attorney, jurist and public official, died at his home in Des Moines, February 19, 1954; born on a farm near Mitchell, Iowa, June 5, 1865; son of Amos S. Faville who taught the first public school and organized the first Sunday school in Mitchell county, and represented that county in the house of representatives of the 1870 Iowa legislature; attended Mitchell county public schools and Cedar Valley seminary at Osage; was graduated from Iowa State College at Ames in 1888, received his law degree from the State University of Iowa in 1891, and began the practice of law that year at Sioux Rapids; moved to Storm Lake in 1892 when elected county attorney, serving two terms; elected presidential elector in 1904; appointed district U. S. attorney for Northern Iowa district serving from 1907 to 1913; moved to Fort Dodge and practiced law there, 1918-20; elected a member of the Iowa supreme court in 1920, serving until 1933; standing master in chancery U. S. district court, 1933-34; practiced law in Sioux City from 1935 to 1942, and that year elected code editor and supreme court reporter of Iowa serving until his retirement on account of ill health in 1946; was married to Cora Thornburg, who died in 1919, and their two children, Stanton S. Faville, lawyer, in Birmingham, Michigan, and Mrs. Marion By Aycock of Evanston, Illinois, survive with the judge's widow, the former Josephine Creelman, to whom he was united in marriage on January 1, 1925; received an honorary doctor's degree from Buena Vista college, Storm Lake, of which institution he served as a trustee; a member of American and Iowa state bar associations and American Law Institute, the Presbyterian church, the Masonic order and was a Republican.

JOHN ORVILLE BOYD, lawyer and civic leader, died at Keokuk, Iowa, January 24, 1954; born in Pike county, Missouri, January 21, 1876; son of John W. and Rosalle Baxter Boyd; was graduated from Louisiana, Missouri, high school in 1896; attended the University of Missouri; taught school in rural Pike county in 1896-7 and in Memphis, Missouri, from 1897 to 1902, serving as principal and later as superintendent; read law during school work and admitted to the bar in 1902; practiced law in Bowling Green and Memphis and came to Keokuk in 1905, where he served as assistant to Judge William Logan, president of the State Central Savings bank; became office attorney for the Keokuk and Hamilton Water Power

company and later the Mississippi River Power company, and since 1915 engaged in the general practice of law; married in Stanberry, Missouri, December 6, 1906 to Ginerva Anderson who preceded him in death in 1909, and to them was born one son, Bemrose Boyd now residing in Milwaukee, Wisconsin; married in Keokuk March 12, 1912, to the former Ruth Gaston who died in 1922, and to them was born a daughter, Mrs. Raymond J. (Margaret) Metz, of Detroit, Michigan; and again married on June 1, 1933 to Bertha L. Pflug, a practicing lawyer in Keokuk, who survives; active in church and civic circles; served as superintendent of the First Christian church Sunday school 15 years, a member of the board of trustees of Culver-Stockton college, Canton, Missouri, and its president from 1942 to 1951, awarded honorary doctor of laws degree at the 81st annual commencement of Culver-Stockton in 1947; served as president of the First Judicial Bar association; engaged in extensive law practice; author of "Thirty Years a Judge," "Justice Blindfolded," "A Study of Portia's Law," and other periodical articles; active in civic affairs, educational circles, club and fraternal organizations; a member of the Masonic bodies, Lee county board of education, Y.M.C.A., Knights of Pythias, Odd Fellows, Elks, county, state and American bar associations.

CHARLES WILLIAM PHILLIPS, former secretary of the Iowa state pharmacy commission and state fair official, died at Maquoketa, Iowa, January 2, 1954; born at Andrew, Iowa, January 22, 1868; son of Adelbert and Mary King Phillips; moved with his parents at an early age to Maquoketa, where he received his elementary education; later was graduated from the College of Veterinary Medicine at Toronto, Canada; elected secretary of the Iowa State Board of Pharmacy April 23, 1896, and served in that capacity until July 1, 1908; became a member of the Iowa State Fair board from the second congressional district in 1901, serving the first year as superintendent of sheep and poultry exhibits, from 1902 through 1913 as superintendent of ticket sales, and from 1914 through 1916 as superintendent of ticket auditing, as well as also serving on the board's auditing committee during the years 1903 through 1916; gained state-wide acquaintance through these affiliations and activities in Republican political circles; acquired extensive farm land acreage in the vicinity of Waurika, Oklahoma, and since 1914 devoted considerable time in supervision of same, although retaining his residence in Maquoketa; affiliated with the Masonic order, being a 50-year member of Home lodge, Des Moines; preceded in death by his parents and three brothers, Frank, Edward and Wylie, and following the death of Edward, personally assumed re-

sponsibilities as parent to the three bereaved children, Ben C. Phillips, and Dorothy Schoenthaler of Maquoketa and Charlen Cox of DeWitt, Iowa, all surviving with a number of grand-nephews and nieces.

GLEN ARTHUR CUMINGS, agricultural engineer and educator, died at his home in University Park, Hyattsville, Maryland, February 6, 1954; born on a farm near Wayland, Iowa, September 19, 1894; son of Ebenezer Harlen and Emma Johnson Cumings; spent his early life in Wayland community and was educated in the Wayland public schools; was graduated from Iowa State college at Ames in 1917; married August 24, 1924 to Winifred Wenkheimer at Fort Collins, Colorado; served as assistant agricultural engineer 1917-18 at the University of Wisconsin, and during World War I was instructor at the Navy Aviation school at Great Lake, Illinois, 1918-19, and then for eight years professor of agricultural mechanics at Colorado Agricultural college; moved in 1927 to Washington, D.C. and became a research project leader in agricultural engineering in the bureau of public roads, 1939-43, later transferring to the bureau of plant industry at Beltsville, Maryland, where he carried on scientific research work until time of his death; a contributor to many government publications; agricultural experiment station bulletins and scientific journals; served as general chairman of national joint committee on fertilizer application, 1940-41; as chairman of committee on fertilizer application American Society of agricultural engineers, 1927; member fellow AAAS, Gamma Sigma Delta, American Society of Agriculture engineers and Alpha Sigma Phi, Presbyterian church, Masonic order and the Elks lodge; survived by his widow, two sons, Richard and Edwin and one daughter, Dorothy, all of Washington, D.C., and preceded in death by one son, Robert and one daughter, Ruth; buried in Center cemetery near his birthplace.

WALTER CRAWFORD HOWEY, veteran journalist and inventor, died in Boston, Massachusetts, March 21, 1954, victim two months previous of an automobile accident; born at Fort Dodge, Iowa, January 16, 1882, son of Frank H. Howey; educated in the Fort Dodge public schools; first newspaper work was as a reporter on the *Fort Dodge Messenger* in 1902, and afterward was upon the *Des Moines Capital*; then began a remarkable relationship with the Chicago papers, first as a reporter upon the *Chicago American* December 30, 1903, following which in turn he became city editor and managing editor of four Chicago newspapers when competition was hectic and staff changes were frequent; became one of the youngest city editors in the country when he assumed charge of the *Chicago Inter-*

Ocean desk at 24; worked for the *Chicago Tribune* before beginning a 37-year association with the Hearst newspapers in 1917; was closely associated with the late William Randolph Hearst, who considered Howey one of his most trusted editors; left Chicago in 1922 to become managing editor of the *Boston American*; remained in Boston two years before Hearst called him to New York in a consulting capacity; returned to Boston in 1939, and was editor-in-chief of the *Record*, the *American* and the *Sunday Advertiser*, the Hearst newspapers in Boston, at the time of his death; in the early 1930's invented a photo-electric engraving machine, and in 1940 photographs were transmitted 87 miles over a "sound-photo system" he developed; survived by a son, William Randolph Howey, a brother and a sister.

ORA E. HUSTED, farmer and legislator, died at Winterset, Iowa, March 21, 1954; born in Ohio township, Madison county, Iowa, March 20, 1876, a son of Thomas and Mary Susan Husted; spent almost his entire life in that county, devoting his life work to farming and stock raising, and active in Farm Bureau and local matters; married to Etna K. Kale, January 23, 1899, and to that union were born four children, a son dying in infancy; served many years upon township school boards; a Republican and became the representative from Madison county in the 1930-32 General Assembly of Iowa, and served as state senator from the Adair-Madison district from 1932 to 1940; also was in the service of the Iowa tax commission from 1940 to 1950, when he retired and moved to Winterset; active in the Methodist Episcopal church, serving upon the church board for 30 years, and widely known as a church and Sunday school worker and speaker; survived by his widow, two sons, Cressley E. Husted, Des Moines, and Merrill Husted, Winterset; a daughter, Mrs. Esther Miskey, Los Angeles, four grand children and a sister, Mrs. Belle Brown of Winterset.

MILTON PEACO, former legislator and state labor commissioner, died at Clinton, Iowa, March 17, 1954, victim of an automobile accident; born at Belle Plaine, Iowa, January 23, 1878; son of Thomas C. and Mary E. Peaco and when two years old, moved with them to Clinton county; educated in the Clinton public schools and at fifteen years of age entered the employ of the Chicago & Northwestern railroad as a machinist, continuing in that capacity 37 years; married Sadie E. Cook at Urbana, October 18, 1899; served in the Iowa house of representatives from 1931 to 1937, and as state labor commissioner from 1937 to 1939; served in the 40's on the land commission which operated in connection with the Mississippi

River Lock 13; a member of the Clinton bridge commission from its formation; a member of the Masonic order and was to have received his 50-year pin the Monday following his death; also a member of the Christian church, the Izaak Walton league and the Clinton boat club, and a Democrat; survived by his wife and several nieces and nephews.

LORAN DAVID OSBORN, minister, educator and sociologist, died at Oak Park, Illinois, at the home of a daughter, Mrs. Julius Hamilton, May 17, 1954; born at Portland, Michigan, November 13, 1863; son of the Rev. David and Eliza Maria (Faxon) Osborn; was graduated from Kalamazoo college in 1889, and received his A.B. degree from the University of Michigan in 1891; a student at the Newton Theological Institute 1891-92; received his Ph.D. at the University of Chicago 1900; married Rena Addie Richards of Kalamazoo, August 13, 1896; ordained a minister of the Baptist church in 1894; served as pastor of the Immanuel church at Elgin, Illinois, 1894-98, First church at Centralia, Illinois, 1898-1900, First church at Bloomington, Illinois, 1900-05, dean of liberal arts and president of Des Moines college 1905-1911; associate editor of Home and School Reference Work, Chicago, 1911-12; organizer and director university extension division and professor of sociology at University of Colorado 1912-20; chancellor Des Moines university in charge of educational and internal administration 1920-24; dean of College of Arts and Sciences 1924-26; also professor of sociology University of Redlands 1926-31; director of education department of Los Angeles Institute of Family Relations 1931-43, and regional director for several years thereafter; a member of national and state educational and sociological organizations and author of several important books upon subjects connected with his life's work; made his home during late years at Dowagiac, Michigan.

JAMES P. VAN HORN, minister, educator and hospital official, died at Cedar Rapids, Iowa, April 30, 1954; born at Millersburg, Iowa, March 14, 1870, and lived his entire life in Iowa; married August 12, 1896, to Lulu Davis, at Maquoketa, who died in 1949; educated for the ministry, graduated from Cornell college in 1902, and served Methodist churches and institutions in Eastern Iowa for more than forty years; held pastorates at Palo, Oasis, Prairie and Wesley chapel of the Marion circuit, and at Miles, Oelwein and for three years was spiritual leader at Trinity Methodist church in Cedar Rapids; received a doctor of divinity degree in 1919; was superintendent of his church's Cedar Rapids district from 1918 to 1921; named president of Upper Iowa University at Fayette, Iowa, in 1921 and served in that capacity until 1928, when

named to the Cedar Rapids St. Luke's hospital staff; served as president of the Iowa Hospital Association in 1939; following retirement as superintendent of St. Luke's hospital in 1943, preached at Rowley until 1947, driving there every Sunday from his home in Cedar Rapids; survived by a daughter, Mrs. J. B. Hungerford, Coggin, a son, Walter A. Van Horn, Los Angeles, three brothers, three sisters and three grandchildren.

GURNEY CHAPLIN GUE, lawyer, newspaperman and American harness horse authority, died at Merrick, Long Island, New York, August 29, 1953; born in Scott county, Iowa, October 30, 1861; son of Benjamin F. and Elizabeth Parker Gue, pioneer Iowa residents; was graduated from Iowa State College of Agriculture, which his father as a member of the Iowa senate was the leader in establishing; was graduated from the law school of the State University of Iowa in 1889; worked as a newspaperman on the staffs of the *New York Sun* and *New York Herald-Tribune*, and engaged extensively in compiling records of race horse breeding, as well as being considered an authority on American harness horses; compiled records of the Gurney, Parker and Gue families and made gifts of them to the geneological library of the Iowa State Department of History; remains were cremated and the ashes returned to Des Moines for burial, graveside rites being had at Woodland cemetery May 7, 1954; survived by a sister, Mrs. Katherine Leonard, LaJolla, California.

GEORGE W. INGHAM, physician, died after being overcome by smoke in a fire that consumed his home in Olympia, Washington, May 21, 1954; born in Algona, Iowa, March 1, 1868; son of Capt. William H. and Caroline Rice Ingham, and a brother of the late Harvey Ingham, former editor of the *Algona Upper Des Moines* and the *Des Moines Register and Leader*; married Emma Reed April 17, 1895, having moved to Olympia in 1893 and practiced medicine there until his retirement from professional work in 1949; survivors include his widow, a son, Dr. Reed Ingham, and a daughter, Mrs. Caroline Klontz, both of Olympia, nine grandchildren and one great grandchild.

“I Remember, I Remember”

I remember, I remember
The house where I was born,
The little window where the sun
Came peeping in at morn;
He never came a wink too soon
Nor brought too long a day;
But now, I often wish the night
Had borne my breath away.

I remember, I remember
The roses, red and white,
The violets, and the lily-cups—
Those flowers made of light!
The lilacs where the robin built,
And where my brother set
The laburnum on his birthday,—
The tree is living yet!

I remember, I remember
Where I was used to swing,
And thought the air must rush as fresh
To swallows on the wing;
My spirit flew in feathers then
That is so heavy now,
The summer pools could hardly cool
The fever on my brow.

I remember, I remember
The fir-trees dark and high;
I used to think their slender tops
Were close against the sky:
It was a childish ignorance,
But now 'tis little joy
To know I'm farther off from Heaven
Than when I was a boy.

—Thomas Hood (1799-1845)

IOWA STATE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY AND ARCHIVES

Claude R. Cook, Curator
Des Moines

An institution of the State of Iowa, located at the seat of government, established as a department of the State in 1892, and administered by a Curator elected by a Board of Trustees composed of the Governor of the State, a Justice of the Iowa Supreme Court and the Superintendent of Public Instruction. It consists of the following divisions:

The Iowa Historical and Genealogical Library

The Public Archives of the State of Iowa

The State Census Records of Iowa

The War History Division—Iowans in Four Wars

The Portrait Gallery of Iowa, exhibiting oil portraits of the outstanding men and women who have contributed to Iowa culture, official life and progress.

The Museum Division: Indian, geology, pioneer life, transportation, and natural history collections and exhibits

Publication: *ANNALS OF IOWA, a Magazine of History*

The Newspaper Division—Files of Iowa newspapers and periodicals from territorial days to the present

The Manuscript Collection including papers, addresses, documents and correspondence of eminent Iowans, supplying unrecorded chapters in state history

In the interest of preserving Iowa history, the Curator solicits the presentation, to the Manuscript Collection, of letters, diaries, family histories, and general manuscripts about Iowans and institutions in the area of which the state is a geographical part.

ANNALS OF IOWA

In the more than half a century the *ANNALS OF IOWA* has been published, it has been a repository for, and made available, a vast amount of valuable data on the history of the State otherwise not accessible. The securing of material, and editing and supervising its publication, is a part of the immediate task of carrying on the work of the Department in harmony with established traditions.

Bound files of the publication are preserved in countless libraries of the State, and may be consulted by those engaged in research and historical writing.

